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ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

NEVIS-WEEHAWKEN

A LECTURE
ON THE MILITARY CAREER
OF
ALEXANDER HAMILTON
WITH ELABORATE NOTES ON THE IMPORTANT EVENTS OF HIS
LIFE, AND FULL PARTICULARS OF THE
HAMILTON-BURR DUEL

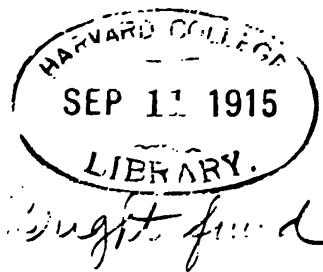
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ALEXANDER HAMILTON

**A Lecture Delivered Before Alexander Hamilton Post, G. A. R., on
Thursday, May 17, 1894.**

BY JAMES EDWARD GRAYBILL.

Commander, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Every author prefixes his book with an apology, or a dedication, and I will begin my lecture with an explanation of the causes that led to its preparation and the motives that prompted it.

The many generous and warm welcomes which I have received at the hands of Alexander Hamilton Post placed me under an obligation which I was desirous, in some way, of reciprocating, and I felt that I could do so in no more appropriate manner than by preparing and delivering a lecture, taking for my subject the man after whom the Post is named. The plan once conceived, I began my investigations, but soon ascertained how incompetent I was for the task assumed, and what an undertaking I had before me in preparing something worthy of your attention.

On the very threshold of my labors I was met with serious difficulties: First, I was a Democrat, and knew that Hamilton was the founder of a political organization with which I was not in sympathy; second, I was a Southerner, imbued with the doctrine of State Rights, which I had been taught from boyhood was the most vital and essential principle of our government: Hamilton was the known advocate of a strong centralized national government. Furthermore, what I knew of Hamilton I had gleaned from the study of the life of Aaron Burr, whom I had regarded with all the reverence and veneration that the youthful mind bestows upon a brilliant, brave and chivalric person, such as he had been pictured to me. I had eagerly sought and read everything that in any way related to Aaron Burr, and remember once, while a student in Germany, searching the great libraries of Europe for a little book, the "Memoirs of Mrs. Coglan, nee Moncrieffe," which was merely mentioned in a foot note in one of his biographies. There were traits in Burr's character which greatly pleased and impressed me. One was his great affection for and devotion to his daughter Theodosia, than which nothing could be more beautiful; the other, his conduct when wrongfully accused by General Washington of reading

over his shoulder. It is told that Washington was reading a letter while Burr was standing near; thinking that Burr was noting its contents, he turned upon him suddenly, and in a stern and severe manner, remarked, "How dare Colonel Burr read over my shoulder?" Burr, indignant at the unmerited rebuke, quickly replied, looking the General squarely in the eye, "Colonel Burr *dares* do anything." I have always admired courage in men, and this episode made me look upon Burr as a veritable hero.

From these early impressions it was but natural for me to entertain prejudices against General Hamilton which, I am now pleased to say, have been altogether removed by a careful study of his life, character and works. Who can read his life without revering his memory? Who can contemplate his patriotic devotion to our country without a feeling of gratitude for the services he rendered as soldier, jurist and statesman?

My work has been one of both pleasure and profit. A pleasure in rendering a service to you, gentlemen of the Post; and a profit, in removing a groundless prejudice against one of the most brilliant and noble characters in our country's history.*

LITERATURE.

It may be well, at this time, to refer you to the literature on Hamilton. First, is the eight-volume edition of Cabot Lodge and the seven-volume edition of John C. Hamilton, both now rarely to be found; then his life, in two volumes, by John C. Hamilton, and a later and exceedingly interesting one in two volumes by John T. Morse; and the following one-volume series, viz., by Cabot Lodge, Samuel M. Schmucker, Renwick, Reitmuller and George Shea; also the Hamilton Papers, by Hawks. For details of the duel, reference may be had to Coleman's Collections, a volume printed in 1804; Volume 10 of the Historical Magazine, 1866, and Volume 4 of Gay's Popular History of the United States. In regard to the place of his birth (the island of Nevis), see Bryan Edwards' History of the West Indies, volume 1, page 472. Further valuable information may be found in Bancroft's History of America; Brice's American Commonwealth; The Narrative and Critical History of America; Laboulaye's Histoire des Etas-Unis, and Curtis' History of the United States Constitution. They all contain important and interesting allusions to Hamilton. For a short and concise review of his life and works, reference might be had to the American Encyclopaedia.

THE MAN.

Hamilton was a man of small stature, about five feet six, and weighing about 130 pounds. His head was large, with deep-set, piercing, bluish-gray eyes, and an aquiline nose. His mouth and chin were indicative of a kind and gentle disposition. He had an oval face, high forehead and ruddy complexion, light hair, combed back and gathered in a queue, and wore no beard. He had a strong Scottish cast of features, was erect in his gait, courteous in his manner and highly esteemed by those with whom he was thrown in contact. He was possessed of great personal magnetism,

(* Note 1, p. 38.)

which, with his great learning, enabled him to sway the minds of men and impress his ideas of public policy upon the leading men of his time.

James Renwick, in his "Life of Hamilton" (pp. 337-341), thus describes him:

"His motions were graceful, and the tones of his voice agreeable in the highest degree. To these natural requisites he added high powers of argument, readiness of expression and simple elegance of thought and diction. He thus, as an orator, is said to have been pre-eminent even in a country so prolific in public speakers. Whether at the bar or in the deliberative assembly, he was equally distinguished for his commanding eloquence. Ambitious to no little degree, he sought no offices of honor and emolument, nor would he have accepted them except as opportunities of being useful to his country. He looked for his recompense in the consideration of the virtuous and patriotic of his fellow-citizens, or the more sure gratitude of posterity, not in wealth or the pride of elevated rank. With such disinterested views, each call to the public service involved him in pecuniary loss, and he gradually contracted a debt of considerable amount, which remained unpaid at his decease. His appointment as Inspector-General in the Provisional Army interrupted the growth of a lucrative professional business, and, at the same time, deprived him of the means of meeting the interest on large purchases of land which he had entered into, in full confidence that his labours as a legal man would enable him to hold it. To prevent the absolute sacrifice of his landed property, his friends and admirers united after his death in a subscription, by which his debts were paid, and the proceeds of the estate finally reimbursed their advances, but left little or no surplus to his family.

Hamilton's views of government and national policy were founded on the classic authors of Greece and Rome, and the works of the great men who maintained in England a struggle against the royal prerogative. To this he added an intimate knowledge of that unwritten code which probably took its birth in the fastnesses of Caucasus, and acquired its first strength in the forests and marshes of Germany, whence, by our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, it was brought into Britain. He found this in our own country, stripped of the feudal features with which the Norman conquerors had defaced it, and, with the greater part of the actors in the Revolution, sought no more than the maintenance of privileges already existing as a birthright. To these privileges, comprising the safety of life, liberty and property, he considered every citizen to have a right, unless deprived of them as a punishment for crime, and independently of the will of his fellows, whether they constituted a majority or not. A knowledge of the republics of antiquity had shown him that, in the absence of such a safeguard, no tyranny was ever more oppressive than that exercised in the name of the people. Hence he set his face against the principles imported from France at the breaking out of her revolution, believing that if they became the settled policy of the government they would be subversive of individual rights and personal liberty.

"With these views, he looked upon the British constitution as the noblest monument of human wisdom; and while he did not defend its corruptions, nor propose its monarchical and aristocratic features for imitation, he considered it as a model after which a permanently free government might best be formed. Those, who, with the French democrats, maintained the unlimited sovereignty of the majority, have found room for accusing him of being in favour of regal power, and of wishing to engraft a House of Lords on our institutions. With how little reason this accusation was made has already been exhibited.

"In the political struggles which succeeded his death, the party which was opposed to him triumphed; but that very triumph has shown how deeply-seated were the principles maintained by Hamilton in the hearts, if not in the judgment, of the American people. However loud may have been the tone in which an opposing theory has been proclaimed, the practice of the government has been, in almost all respects, such as Hamilton would have himself directed. The public faith has been maintained inviolate to the national creditor; the executive has acted upon and avowed its responsibility; the independence of the judiciary, if threatened, has never been directly assailed; the supremacy of the general government has been asserted in a proclamation worthy of Hamilton's own genius; an efficient army has been maintained in time of peace, and applied to curb a generous but mistaken sympathy; a navy has become the favourite institution of the country; and, except in a single local instance, the natural rights of individuals have been held sacred.

"Among his great measures, a National Bank was adopted by the successful party; and if, by the errors of its management and the multiplicity of state institutions, it has become unpopular, the wisdom of his course, and its consistency with the letter of the Constitution, has been established by judicial decisions and legislative enactments. The policy in relation to manufactures, which he failed in carrying, has since been for a time adopted; but, although again abandoned, the judgment of the public appears to be rapidly resuming a sound tone in this respect, when the cotton-growers of the South shall see that the spinners and weavers of the North are inseparably connected with them by the ties of a common interest.

"When the angry feelings excited by the long struggle between the Federal and Republican parties shall have cooled, and all the actors in those stirring scenes shall have retired from the stage, it requires little prescience to predict that Hamilton will assume, by general consent, the first place among American statesmen, and will be held, in the estimate of his patriotic services, as second to Washington alone."

There are two fine portraits of Hamilton in this city — one, by Trumbull, in the rooms of the Chamber of Commerce, and the other, by Weimer (later also attributed to Trumbull), in the Governor's Room of the City Hall. Although both are alleged to have been painted by the same artist, and at about the same time, there is absolutely no resemblance between them.

I prefer the one in the City Hall, as it comes nearer to my idea of how Hamilton should look. It is a fine study, in which his quiet dignity, intellectual bearing and genial nature are all prominently and conspicuously brought out.

NATIVITY.

General Hamilton was born on January 11, 1757, on the island of Nevis, amidst the beauties of an eternal spring, beneath a sky serene and unclouded, where fruits and flowers, with their exquisite fragrance and wealth of color, lend a charm to the varied prospects that make this spot inexpressibly beautiful.

Nevis is about the shape and half the size of our Staten Island — has a population of some 10,000 or 12,000 — one town, Charlestown, the seat of government and port of entry. Some two miles off lies St. Christopher Island, with four towns and a population of 30,000, and nearby are the islands of St. Eustatius and Santa Cruz.

Whether Hamilton was born in the town of Charlestown or in some hamlet of the island is not known. His father, John Hamilton, was a Scotch merchant, and very probably was conducting his business in town at the time of Alexander's birth, although all accounts state that he was a resident of St. Christopher Island, where he met and married Mrs. Lavine, a French Huguenot, and the divorced wife of a wealthy Danish physician. No mention is made of his residence on the island of Nevis; in fact, we seldom find any allusion to the names of the towns on the various islands of Nevis, St. Christopher and Santa Cruz (Sainte Croix), although Nevis has one town and several hamlets — St. Christopher four towns and Santa Cruz two. This fact has occasioned much doubt and uncertainty regarding the early life of Hamilton.

John T. Morse, in his *Life of Hamilton*, commenting on the peculiar qualities of his mind and character, says:

"It would be interesting speculation to inquire how far they were due to this intermingling of the blood of two widely different races (Scotch and French Huguenot), and to the superadded effect of his tropical birthplace. It seems possible, without becoming over fanciful, to trace quite clearly these diverse and powerful threads of influence. Thus there are to be plainly noted in him many of the most marked and familiar traits of the genuine Scot. He manifested, in a rare degree, the shrewdness, the logical habit of mind and the taste for discussion, based upon abstract and general principles, with which the *Waverly Novels* have made us familiar, as distinguishing aptitudes of the Scottish intellect. If his mental traits were Scotch, his moral traits carry us back to his French and Huguenot ancestry. He had the ease of manner, the liveliness and vivacity, the desire and the ability to please, which the French claim as their especial heritage. He evinced the firm moral courage, the persistence in noble generous endeavor, the power of self sacrifice, and the elements of a grand heroism, which might be expected in the descendant from one of the high-spirited Protestant exiles of France, a band of men the example of whose

courage and resolution it would be difficult to find surpassed in the pages of history. His warm eager temperament, his whole-souled enthusiasm, and his affectionate nature, may perchance have been due in a measure to the influence of the fervid and luxuriant climate which his parents had adopted as their home, and where he, himself, was born and passed the susceptible years of boyhood. So many rare and various qualities were united in Hamilton, so wonderful is the tale of his mature youth, so interesting and attractive is his career, that one can not but ask with more than ordinary curiosity, whence came these unwonted and remarkable traits? Speculation becoming thus aroused, turns naturally to contemplate his parentage and his birthplace with peculiar care."

YOUTH.

The death of his mother and his father's failure in business left young Hamilton at the age of four years, dependent on his mother's relatives, and he was taken to Santa Cruz and cared for by Mr. Peter Lytton, and his sister, Mrs. Mitchell, where he learned the rudiments of his education, embracing the English and French language, of both of which he subsequently became a master. He was a lover of books, and devoted himself to miscellaneous reading, in which he was materially assisted by Dr. Knox, a Presbyterian divine, who took an unusually deep interest in his welfare, and whose conversations revealed to him new and varied fields of thought and speculation, and gave him, as it were, "a glimpse of those polemic controversies which subsequently called forth the highest efforts of his intellect."

When twelve years of age he was apprenticed to Mr. Nicholas Cruger, of Santa Cruz, who had a branch establishment in New York, and at one time was president of the Chamber of Commerce of that city. Here on November 11, 1769, he wrote the now celebrated letter to his friend Ned—Mr. Edward Stevens, in New York — in which occurs the following:

"I contemn the grovelling condition of a clerk, or the like, to which my fortune condemns me, and would willingly risk my life, though not my character, to exalt my station. I am confident, Ned, that my youth excludes me from any hopes of immediate preferment, nor do I desire it; but I mean to prepare the way for futurity. I'm no philosopher, you see, and may be justly said to build castles in the air; my folly makes me ashamed, and beg you'll conceal it; yet, Neddy, we have seen such schemes successful, when the projector is constant. I shall conclude by saying, I wish there was a war."

It is related of young Hamilton that by his close attention to his duties, while in the employ of Mr. Cruger, he manifested such proficiency that his employer left him, at the age of 13 years, in full charge and control of his extensive business at Santa Cruz, while he made an extended trip to foreign parts. During the day his time was taken up with the cares of business, but his evenings were devoted to reading and the study of mathematics, chemistry and history. He did not neglect miscellaneous

reading, and Pope and Plutarch were his favorite authors, and occasionally he indulged in composition. On one occasion a terrific hurricane visited the islands, and a description of its fury and devastating effects, written by him and published in one of the St. Christopher papers, attracted so much talk and comment that it reached the governor of the island, upon whom it made such an impression that he resolved on ferreting out the author, and when he found it was the young counting-house apprentice he sent for him, and, on learning his condition and desire, and satisfied of his abilities, he, in conjunction with Dr. Knox, Mr. Cruger and others, arranged to send him to New York, to be educated, for up to this time he had received only the most commonplace instruction, supplemented by his own reading and study.

Thus his "way to futurity" was prepared. It led from a hurricane in the south to greater storms and more stirring events in the distant north. Poor boy, it was never his good fortune to find a haven of rest and quiet; his life was one continuous battle with fate — a neverending struggle. The half orphan at four, was left to contend with poverty; at twelve he had to deal with men of business — shrewd and experienced; at thirteen he encountered the St. Eustatius hurricane; at fifteen fire on board ship at sea on his way to Boston; at sixteen, the stern rules of Princeton that prevented his admission; at seventeen, the oppressive laws of England, that threatened his personal liberty; at nineteen, the British invaders under Howe and Cornwallis on Long Island, followed by seven years of war, and twenty-one years of bitter and continuous political agitations.

ORATOR.

Hardly had he arrived in the States before the threatening clouds of war began to appear. Public affairs began to interest him and he became a close student of passing events. The stamp act had been passed and repealed; McDougal had been arrested and imprisoned for protesting in the name of outraged liberty against the acts of usurpation of the British Government; citizens had been shot down like dogs in the streets of Boston, and the Port of Boston had been closed by act of parliament; the people were aroused, a great meeting had been called in the Fields* to elect delegates to a congress of the colonists to consider measures of self defense; the martyr McDougal was selected to act as chairman. Hamilton as he walked beneath the trees of Old Batteau[†] street, on his way to college, thought of the outrages perpetrated in the name of "Omnipotent Parliament;" the waves of turbulent opinion dashed about him — he was resolved to make common cause with the advocates of civil liberty against the encroachments of the British Ministry. He attended the great gathering in the fields and listened to the words of the noted speakers who addressed the meeting. He was impressed with what they said, more impressed

*Now City Hall Park.

†Now Dey street.

with what they left unsaid, and boy, as he was, inspired with the love of civil liberty, he felt it his duty to call attention to that which he thought was necessary for the multitude to know. He stepped to the front, gathering courage as he rose, and began to address the crowd. It was the supreme moment of his life, his soul was overflowing and his heart was on his tongue. It was a daring experiment — he faltered; his hearers sympathized with his embarrassment and encouraged him to go on. He soon recovered his composure and electrified his audience by his eloquence and logic. The boy was a man, a giant among men, a leader of men. The little unknown West Indian school boy was transformed into the brilliant advocate of colonial autonomy. His reputation was established and it was an easy task to make himself the oracle of British opposition.

CONTROVERSIES.

On December 15, 1774, when only seventeen years of age, he published his first important document in reply to certain pamphlets, criticising the action of the Continental Congress, which he entitled "A Full Vindication of the Measures of Congress from the Calumnies of their Enemies, in answer to a letter under the signature of A. W. Farmer; whereby his sophistry is exposed, his cavils confuted, his artifices detected, and his wit ridiculed, in a general address to the inhabitants of America, and a particular address to the farmers of the Province of New York. By a Sincere Friend to America." In this he uses the following language:

"The (Westchester) Farmer cries 'Tell me not of delegates, congresses, committees, mobs, riots, insurrections and associations — a plague on them all! Give me the steady, uniform, unbiased influence of the courts of justice. I have been happy under their protection, I shall be so again.'

"I say, tell me not of the British commons, lords, ministry, ministerial tools, placemen, pensioners, parasites, I scorn to let my life and property depend upon the pleasure of any of them. Give me the steady, uniform, unshaken security of constitutional freedom. Give me the right of trial by a jury of my own neighbours, and to be taxed by my own representatives only. What will become of the law and courts of justice without this? The shadow may remain, but the substance will be gone. I would die to preserve the law upon a solid foundation; but take away liberty, and the foundation is destroyed.

* * * * *

"When the first principles of civil society are violated, and the rights of a whole people are invaded, the common forms of municipal law are not to be regarded. Men may then betake themselves to the law of nature; and if they but conform their actions to that standard, all cavils against them betray either ignorance or dishonesty. There are some events in society to which human laws can not extend; but when applied to them, lose all their force and efficacy. In short, when human laws contradict or discountenance the means which are necessary to preserve the essential

rights of any society, they defeat the proper end of all laws, and so become null and void.

* * * * *

" Let it be remembered that there are no large plains for the two armies to meet in and decide the contest by some decisive stroke, where any advantage gained by either side must be prosecuted, till a complete victory is obtained. The circumstances of our country put it in our power to evade a pitched battle. It will be better policy to harass and exhaust the soldiery by frequent skirmishes and incursions, than to take the open field with them, by which means they would have the full benefit of their superior regularity and skill. Americans are better qualified for that kind of fighting, which is most adapted to the country, than regular troops; should the soldiery advance into the country, as they would be obliged to do, if they had any inclination to subdue us, their discipline would be of little use to them. Whatever may be said of the disciplined troops of Britain, the event of the contest must be extremely doubtful. There is a certain enthusiasm in liberty, that makes human nature rise above itself in acts of bravery and heroism.

* * * * *

" With respect to cotton, you do not pretend to deny that a sufficient quantity of that may be produced. Several of the southern colonies are so favourable to it, that, with due cultivation, in a couple of years they would afford enough to clothe the whole continent. As to the expense of bringing it by land, the best way will be to manufacture it where it grows, and afterward transport it to the other colonies. Upon this plan, I apprehend, the expense would not be greater than to build and equip large ships to import the manufactures of Great Britain from thence. If we were to turn our attention from external to internal commerce, we would give greater stability and more lasting prosperity to our country than she can possibly have otherwise. We should not then import the vices and luxuries of foreign climes, nor should we make hasty strides to public corruption and depravity.

* * * * *

" The most that can be expected from France, Spain and Holland is, that they would refrain from an open rupture with Great Britain. They would undoubtedly take every clandestine method to introduce among us supplies of those things which we stood in need of, to carry on the dispute. They would not neglect anything in their power to make the opposition on our part as vigorous and obstinate as our affairs would admit of. But it seems to me a mark of great credulity to believe, upon the strength of their assurance, that France and Spain would not take a still more interesting part in the affair. The disjunction of these colonies from Britain, and the acquisition of a free trade with them, are objects of too inviting a complexion to suffer those kingdoms to remain idle spectators of the contention. If they found us inclined to throw ourselves upon their protection, they

would eagerly embrace the opportunity to weaken their antagonist, and strengthen themselves. Superadded to these general and prevailing inducements, there are others of a more particular nature. They would feel no small inconvenience in the loss of those supplies they annually get from us, and their islands would be in the greatest distress for the want of our trade. From these reflections it is more than probable, that America is able to support its freedom, even by the force of arms, if she be not betrayed by her own sons."

In commenting upon the above, his biographer states that the articles were attributed to Governor Livingston and John Jay, and resulted in Hamilton being styled "The Vindicator of Congress."

"When the vigor and terseness of style, the mass of information, the closeness of reasoning, the happy exposition of the weak points of his antagonist, the clear perception of the principles of political liberty which the American revolution has rendered familiar, and chiefly the comprehensive and prophetic view which is taken of the great questions then discussed, and which involved not less the destinies of the British empire, than of all others, are considered, these pamphlets will be admitted to possess merits of which the most practiced statesman might be proud, and when regarded as the productions of such a youth, are unrivaled."

On January 1, 1775, the Quebec bill went into effect, restoring the French laws which had given place to the milder influence of the English laws when Canada fell under the Dominion of Britain, assuring to all persons settling in Canada the full enjoyment of the rights of British subjects. The bill reserved to the executive authority of the provinces the power of altering the laws at pleasure, and guaranteed to the people the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, declaring the clergy of that church entitled to hold and enjoy their accustomed views and rights.

Hamilton, in his "Remarks," (June 15, 1775) commented on the arbitrary character of the bill, which made the laws of the province subject to the discretion of the governing prince and gave him otherwise extraordinary and dangerous powers, such as creating courts of law, criminal, civil and ecclesiastical, appointing judges whose commissions were revocable at his pleasure, and the making of trial by jury dependent on the will of the provisional legislature, and argued clearly that the act placed the Catholic religion on the footing of a Regular Establishment in the provinces, leaving the Protestants destitute and unbefriended. He regarded the bill as a direct menace to the liberties and rights of the American colonies and he severely denounced it as a dangerous precedent.

SOLDIER.

On August 14, 1776, he was appointed Captain of The Provincial Company of Artillery, upon the recommendation of Colonel Alexander McDougal, who had presided at the meeting in the Fields, and who had been arrested in December, 1769, for publishing an article entitled "A Son of Liberty to the Betrayed Inhabitants of the Colony of New York," and

when arrested therefor, declared "I rejoice that I am the first sufferer for liberty since the commencement of our glorious struggle," and who from his prison poured forth continual appeals to the people, teeming with scornful reproaches of his oppressors, and the boldest avowals of revolutionary sentiments, and who was visited in his prison by the ladies and gentlemen of the highest standing and influence in the city.

His first duty was the guarding of the records of the colony, then stored in the Bayard House, in which he subsequently died, after receiving his fatal wound in his duel with Burr.

He recruited his company out of the last moneys received from Santa Cruz, and devoted his energy to its perfection in drill. His zeal and diligence soon made it conspicuous for its appearance and the regularity of its movements.

His first lieutenant, having been transferred to another command, he advocated and secured the promotion of his orderly sergeant to the position made vacant by the transfer as "an animating example to all men of merit to whose knowledge it comes." The name of this individual was Thomson, frequently referred to as the "Bombardier." He was subsequently promoted to captain, and fell at the Battle of Springfield, at the head of his men, after gallantly repulsing a desperate charge of the enemy.

Hamilton, while discharging his military duties, did not neglect his studies. His military books were full of annotations relating to politics and war, trade and commerce, value of products, balance of trade, progress of population and the value of a circulating medium, thus showing his train of thought, and laying the foundation for his subsequent brilliant services to his country.

On August 27, 1776, the Battle of Long Island was fought between Putnam and Howe, mainly on the ground now occupied by Greenwood Cemetery.

In this battle Hamilton was in the thick of the fight and lost his baggage and a field piece. It was an unfortunate engagement, and the Americans being outflanked by the enemy were compelled to retreat across the East river into the city of New York. Such a retreat was full of danger, but under the masterly guidance of Washington it was successful, and in its success Hamilton played a conspicuous part. To him was assigned the duty of covering and protecting the rear of the army, and he was one of the last to cross the stream. It was his first experience in war which, as a boy, he had so longed for, and it is well that Long Island was at the time covered by a dense fog, thus concealing the movements of the Americans, for had the British known of this retreat, the position held by Hamilton would have been fraught with such dangers as would probably have cut short, not only his great career, but that of the struggling colonies.

On September 14 and 15, 1776, the Battle of Harlem Heights was fought, New York city having been evacuated, the American forces were withdrawn to the upper portion of the island, known as Washington Heights,

including the upper portion of Central Park. It was while throwing up works in what is now Central Park, near McGowan's Pass Tavern, that Washington first met Hamilton, being attracted by the skillful and energetic manner in which he was performing his duties. He entered into a conversation with him, and was so struck by his intelligent conversation that he invited him to his tent.

On October 28, 1776, Washington, after having evacuated Manhattan Island, with the exception of Fort Washington, which had been left under the charge of General Greene, had concentrated his forces on the hills around White Plains, thus foiling the attempt of General Howe to turn his rear, cut off his supplies and capture his entire army. White Plains was a drawn battle, in which Howe failed to take advantage of his opportunities, but it enabled Hamilton, on Chatterton Hill, to display his ability and courage in resisting charge after charge of the enemy, who were intent upon its capture in order to turn the right wing of Washington's army.

On the retreat across the Hudson and into New Jersey and especially at New Brunswick, Hamilton rendered effective service. At the latter place the rear of the American army had scarcely crossed the Raritan when the advance of the British, under Cornwallis, appeared. The bridge across the river had been destroyed, and knowing that the stream was fordable, Hamilton had planted his field pieces on an eminence commanding the river, and by a spirited cannonade aided in checking the progress of the British, and enabled Washington to continue his march to Princeton. His company was a model of discipline, and the little boyish captain was a subject of wonder and surprise as he marched at its head, the more so when it was learned that the diminutive captain was the Hamilton of whom the patriots had heard so much.

AIDE TO WASHINGTON.

After taking part in the battles of Trenton and Princeton, on March 1, 1777, at the age of twenty, he was appointed Aide-de-Camp to General Washington, with a rank of lieutenant-colonel.

MILITARY COMMENTS.

Commenting on Burgoyne and Howe and the evacuation of Philadelphia, Hamilton, in a letter written to a friend on July 22, 1777, states:

"I am doubtful whether Burgoyne will attempt to penetrate far, and whether he will not content himself with harassing our back settlements by parties, assisted by the savages, who, it is to be feared, will pretty generally be tempted by the enemy's late successes, to confederate in hostilities against us.

"This doubt arises from some appearances that indicate a southern movement of General Howe's army, which if it should really happen, will certainly be a barrier against any further impressions of Burgoyne; for it can not be supposed that he would be rash enough to plunge into the bosom of the country, without an expectation of being met by General Howe.

'Things must prove very adverse to us indeed, should he make such an attempt and not be ruined by it. I confess, however, that the appearances I allude to do not carry a full evidence in my mind; because I can not conceive upon what principle of common sense or military propriety Howe can be running away from Burgoyne to the southward.

"It is much to be wished he may, even though it should give him the possession of Philadelphia, which, by our remoteness from it may very well happen. In this case we may not only retaliate by aiming a stroke at New York, but we may come upon him with the greatest part of our collective force, to act against that part which is under him. We shall then be certain that Burgoyne can not proceed, and that a small force of Continental troops will be sufficient for that partisan war which he must carry on the rest of the campaign, and to garrison the posts in the Highlands; so that we shall be able to bring nearly the whole of the Continental Army against Howe. The advantages of this are obvious. Should he be satisfied with the splendor of his acquisition, and shut himself up in Philadelphia, we can ruin him by confinement. Should he leave a garrison there, and go forward, we can either fall upon that or his main body, diminished as it will be by such a measure, with our whole force. There will, however, be many disagreeable consequences attending such an event; amongst which, the foremost is the depreciation of our currency, which, from the importance in which Philadelphia is held, can not fail to ensue."

* * * * *

In a letter written to his friend, Dr. Knox, on the fall of Ticonderoga, he states:

"One good effect will result from the misfortune, which is, that it will stimulate the Eastern States to greater exertions than they might otherwise make.

"The consequences of this northern affair will depend much upon the part that Howe acts. If he were to co-operate with Burgoyne, it would demand our utmost efforts to counteract them. But if he should go toward the southward, all, or most of the advantages of Burgoyne's success will be lost. He will either be obliged to content himself with the possession of Ticonderoga, and the dependent fortresses, and with carrying on a partisan war the rest of the campaign, or he must precipitate himself into certain ruin by attempting to advance in the country with a very incompetent force. Appearances lead us to suppose that Howe is fool enough to meditate the southern expedition, for he has now altered his station at Staten Island and fallen down to the hook. If they go southward in earnest they must have the capture of Philadelphia in view, for there is no other sufficient inducement. I would not have you to be much surprised if Philadelphia should fall; for the enemy will doubtless go there with a determination to succeed at all hazard, and we shall not be able to prevent them without risking a general action, the expediency of which will depend upon circumstances.

"It may be asked, if to avoid a general engagement we give up objects of the first importance, what is to hinder the enemy from carrying every important point and ruining us? My answer is, that our hopes are not placed in any particular city or spot of ground, but in the preserving of a good army, furnished with proper necessaries to take advantage of favorable opportunities, and waste and defeat the enemy by piecemeal. Every new post they take requires a new division of their forces, and enables us to strike with our united force against a part of theirs; and such is their present situation, that another Trenton affair will amount to a complete victory on our part, for they are at too low an ebb to bear another stroke of that kind."

At the Council of War, called by General Washington, to consider the course to be adopted in view of the evacuation of Philadelphia, it was determined by a majority of its members to avoid a general engagement, in opposition to the opinion of Greene, Wayne and Cadwallader, the preponderating weight of General Lee leading to that conclusion.

Hamilton, in a eulogium subsequently pronounced upon General Greene, expressed himself in reference to this determination of the Council as follows:

"I forbear to lift the veil from off those impotent councils, which by a formal vote had decreed an undisturbed passage to an enemy retiring from the fairest fruits of his victories, to seek an asylum from impending danger, disheartened by retreat, dispirited by desertion, broken by fatigue — retreating through woods, defiles, and morasses, in which his discipline was useless, in the face of an army superior in numbers, elated by pursuit, and ardent to signalize their courage. 'Tis enough for the honour of Greene to say, that he left nothing un essayed to avert and to frustrate so degrading a resolution; and it was happy for America, that the man whose reputation could not be wounded without wounding the cause of his country, had the noble fortitude to rescue himself and the army he commanded from the disgrace with which they were both menaced, by the characteristic imbecility of a council of war."

LEE AND GATES.

It is a strange incident in Washington's career that immediately preceding the commencement of hostilities, two men were his guests at Mount Vernon who subsequently played conspicuous roles in the struggles that ensued, resulting in their rapid promotion and unbounded popularity with the soldiers and citizens of the colonies. These men were Horatio Gates and Charles Lee, both skilled in the arts of war, of great experience, brilliant parts, ambitious yet adventurous; full of bitter resentment against England, in whose armies they had served without the promotion to which they deemed their merits entitled them; they were both trusted and advanced by Washington — the one being placed in command of the Army of the North, the other of the South, and their brilliant successes resulted

in the downfall of Burgoyne and the evacuation of the Southern States by the British.

The disappointment of General Lee manifested itself in his reluctance in obeying the orders of his commander, and finally by such conduct at the battle of Monmouth as to necessitate his arrest and trial for neglect of duty and disrespect to his commander, resulting in his conviction and final expulsion from the army.

The successes of Gates on the Hudson led him to believe he could supplant Washington as Commander-in-Chief of the army, and with that view, in conjunction with Conway and Mifflin, he entered into a conspiracy to have himself relieved of a command under Washington and placed at the head of the Board of War, with powers superior to those of the general of the army. In that position, with Mifflin as Quartermaster-General and Conway as Inspector-General, he did all in his power to prevent the success of Washington's forces, by ignoring his urgent requests for supplies for his army and reinforcements with which to attack the enemy; thus seeking to bring him into disfavor with his troops and with the Congress, and force his resignation. "The best laid schemes of mice and men gang aft aglay," and so it was with Gates and his cabal. While Wilkinson was on his way to Philadelphia for the purpose of furthering the schemes of the conspirators, he passed an evening at the headquarters of General (Lord) Sterling, and, when filled with wine, revealed the secrets of the cabal by divulging the contents of a letter from Conway to Gates, which Lord Sterling immediately communicated to General Washington. This led to a correspondence between Washington and Gates, and subsequently to such a revulsion of feeling in the popular mind as to result in the resignation of Mifflin and Conway, and the transferring of Gates to a position under the direct command of General Washington. The correspondence between Washington and Gates was conducted by Hamilton, and enabled him with a master's hand to bring out into prominence the noble traits of Washington's character, at the same time that it covered Gates and his co-conspirators with shame, confusion and humiliation.

The services of Hamilton in this regard were most commendable, for these were the darkest days of the revolution. The success of the British in capturing New York and Philadelphia stood out in bold contrast with the apparently unsuccessful campaign of Washington, and the people were ready and ripe to entertain any suggestion for a change of commanders, and the condition of the troops at Valley Forge was such as to make the heart of their beloved commander bleed as he saw them without clothes, shoes or blankets, leaving their footprints of blood as they tramped through their encampments in search of fuel to relieve their intense sufferings from the winter's bitter cold.

With the full knowledge of the discontent that began to find expression both in and out of Congress, he stood in helpless silence, for he was conscious that the revelation of the facts necessary to his own vindication would reveal to the enemy the weaknesses of his position, and necessarily

place the army at a great disadvantage, possibly provoke its utter ruin and dissolution. It was at such a time as this that the diplomacy of Hamilton revealed the true character of his beloved commander, justified his conduct, thwarted the object of his enemies, effected a change in the Board of War, and brought about a reorganization of the army upon a substantial footing, and, above all, secured the relief of the poor soldiers in the way of food, clothing and pay, and invested Washington for a term of six months with almost absolute power.

MONMOUTH.

On June 25, 1778, Hamilton, who had been assigned as especial aide to LaFayette, had pushed forward in advance opposite the Heights of Monmouth, whence he wrote General Washington, informing him that the enemy had filed off from Allentown to the Heights of Monmouth, and adds: "I recommend to you to move towards this place as soon as the convenience of your men will permit." On the following day he again wrote Washington, who had advanced to the place suggested by Hamilton, giving him such information as he had been able to secure in regard to the enemy's movements and the condition of the advanced troops.

The change in the position of the enemy during the day rendered it proper to reinforce LaFayette, and to relieve Lee's feelings, General Washington ordered him forward to join LaFayette, with instructions to persevere in any operation in which the advance had engaged, and with the understanding that the command was confided to him, Lee. The main body then moved forward and encamped within three miles of Monmouth. Colonel Morgan took up a position on the right flank of the enemy and General Dickinson, with the Jersey militia, on the left.

On the evening of the 27th, fearing that the enemy might move off at night, Hamilton, by order of Washington, directed General Lee to detach a party of some 600 or 800, to advance near the enemy, and by skirmishing, to interfere and delay their retreat, and to give orders to Colonel Morgan to make an attack for similar purpose. Lee had been further ordered to call his officers together and agree upon a plan of attack, and an hour appointed for their conference. Lee ignored these orders, and permitted the enemy to take a strong position.

It may be well here to remark that Hamilton had, prior to this time, called General Lee's attention to, and urged his occupation of a hill, that commanded the plain on which the enemy were advancing, and that there the battle should be fought. The sequel will show the importance of this position.

These orders having been issued by General Washington, the main body of the American army was put in motion to support Lee, who was ordered to commence the attack. As soon as this was done, Hamilton, who had been with LaFayette in front, returned to Washington and advised him to throw the right wing of the army around by the right, and with the left to follow up General Lee, to support him. Washington appreciated the

importance of this suggestion, and ordered General Greene to take the position indicated by Hamilton. This done, Hamilton again went forward to reconnoiter. Lee's action was very dilatory—advancing and halting, and again advancing and halting. He ordered Wayne to leave his own detachment and take command of the advance, which he did, and on reaching the front sent immediate intelligence to Lee that the enemy were moving in great disorder, and urged him to press forward, he, himself, continuing to advance and attack the enemy. Just at this time the whole force of the British came in view, and the advance brigade of cavalry charged Wayne's advance. This charge was valiantly repulsed, and the enemy began to retire in the direction of an eminence, which they gained, greatly to their advantage. This was the hill pointed out by Hamilton to Lee. Wayne, noticing the intention of the enemy to secure this advantage, pressed on with the intention of securing it in advance, and every circumstance was favorable to his success, when the astounding order was received from Lee to retreat. Noting this, the British sent a column through the village to intercept Wayne's command and prevent its rejoining the main advance under Lee. Hamilton, observing the situation, suggested to Lee an attack upon the enemy's right, which suggestion was approved, and LaFayette ordered to make the attack. It was at this instant, while Washington was standing with his arm extended over his horse, that he was informed of the retreat. His indignation was intense, and instantly springing upon his horse, he pushed forward to the rear of the advance corps under Lee, and himself rallied the retreating troops, who were then in the greatest disorder, ignorant what direction to pursue, or why they were retreating. He immediately ordered Wayne to renew the attack, and appealed to Colonels Ramsey and Stewart to check the enemy. It was then that Lee approached and was severely reprimanded by Washington. Hamilton, who had ridden up, observing Lee's discomfiture, exclaimed, "I will stay with you, my dear General, and die with you. Let us all die here rather than retreat." Seeing the enemy advancing on Knox's artillery, Hamilton advised that a detachment should be sent to his support, which being done, he returned to the rear, where he rallied a retreating brigade under Olney, and, forming them in line, he led a charge against the enemy. In this charge his horse was shot under him, and being hurt by the fall and overcome by the heat (having ridden throughout the action without his hat) he was compelled to retire. This charge of Olney's brigade prevented a flank movement of the enemy and enabled Washington to form a new line upon the eminence, and completely stop the progress of the British.

Greene immediately pushed forward with his force on the right, General Woodford on the left, while Wayne advanced in the center, covered by Knox's artillery.

The enemy were thus driven from the field, upon which the Americans bivouaced for the night, exhausted by the heat and action, hoping to renew the battle on the following morning. The enemy took advantage of the darkness to cover their retreat and succeeded in embarking at Sandy Hook.

This shows the conspicuous services of Hamilton in this engagement, and such was Washington's sense of their importance that he caused a high eulogium upon him to be inserted in his dispatch to Congress, which Hamilton, for motives of delicacy, induced him to expunge.

Lee's conduct resulted in his being court-martialed and found guilty of disobedience of orders, in not attacking the enemy; of misbehavior, by making an unnecessary and disorderly retreat; and of disrespect to the Commander-in-Chief. He was suspended from his command for twelve months and afterward cashiered.

YORKTOWN.

Admiral DeGrasse, having arrived off the coast of Virginia, the anticipated attack upon New York was given up, and Washington moved his army by a circuitous route into Virginia, reaching Philadelphia on the 5th of September, 1781, where he met DeGrasse, and agreed upon the campaign which was to end so gloriously in the defeat and capture of Cornwallis' army. Hamilton had been placed in command of a corps of light infantry and attached to the division of LaFayette.

Cornwallis' retreat into the interior had been cut off, and he was completely hemmed in on the York Peninsula. His position was, however, a strong one, being protected on the north by the steep cliffs of the river, upon which batteries had been erected to co-operate with those on the opposite shore; on the west by a deep ravine and morass; and the south by an extensive line of fortifications, which the British were engaged in throwing up when the Americans arrived. The outer line of these fortifications was immediately vacated, for fear the Americans would get between them and the town. Upon their evacuation, they were immediately occupied by the Americans, who, on September 29th, began the siege of Yorktown. Day after day gradual advances were made, and the enemy forced back into their inner works. Finally it became necessary to obtain possession of two detached and dangerous redoubts, which were enflading the whole line of the American entrenchments, and it was determined to carry them by assault; the one on the left by the Americans under LaFayette; on the right by the French under DeViomenil.

This was an opportunity for which Hamilton had long aspired. At the critical moment, however, a change was made, and the order to attack was intrusted to another. On learning of this arrangement, he repaired immediately to General Washington's headquarters, and remonstrated with him, claiming that it was his right to lead the attack, as the officer on duty. His appeal was successful, and he returned to his corps in the highest of spirits, hoping to signalize himself by some valiant achievement. The advance was to be made in two columns, on the 14th of October. The signal of attack was given, and a simultaneous advance made upon the two redoubts — one by the French and the other by the American troops. Hamilton gave the order to advance with bayonets fixed, himself led the attack, pressed through the abatis and mounted the parapet, quite in

advance of his corps. The impetuosity of the attack carried all before it, and the redoubt was taken without firing a gun, and Washington states that few cases had exhibited greater proofs of intrepidity, coolness and firmness than was shown on this occasion.

On entering the works, as soon as Hamilton saw that the enemy were defeated, incapable of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting recent provocations, he ordered his soldiers to spare every man who ceased to fight. Only a few days before, an American colonel, Scammel, while reconnoitering, was surprised by the British, captured and wantonly killed. When Colonel Campbell, who commanded the redoubt, advanced to surrender, a captain, who had served under Scammel, seized a bayonet, and drew back with the intent of plunging it into his breast; seeing which, Hamilton instantly thrust it aside, and thus prevented the killing of the British colonel, although a well-merited retaliation for their cruel treatment of Scammel.

Three days after the capture of these redoubts, Cornwallis surrendered, and the war was practically over.

MARRIAGE.

In describing the part taken by Hamilton at Monmouth and Yorktown, I have omitted to allude to his marriage to Miss Elizabeth Schuyler, second daughter of General Philip Schuyler, which took place at Albany, N. Y., on December 14, 1780, and to the part he took, some three months before, in the trial of Major Andre in regard to whom he wrote (September, 1780) to his friend Laurens: "Never, perhaps, did any man suffer death with more justice or deserve it less." * * * "I speak not of Andre's conduct in this affair as a philosopher, but as a man of the world. The authorized maxims and practices of war are the satires of human nature. They countenance almost every species of seduction as well as violence; and the General, who can make most traitors in the army of his adversary, is frequently most applauded. On this scale we acquit Andre, while we could not but condemn him if we were to examine his conduct by the sober rules of philosophy and moral rectitude. It is, however, a blemish on his fame that he once intended to prostitute a flag; about this a man of nice honor ought not to have had a scruple; but the temptation was great. In the height of his career, flushed with new hopes from the execution of a project, the most beneficial to his party that could be desired, he was at once precipitated from the summit of prosperity, and saw all the expectations of his ambition blasted and himself ruined. Let his misfortunes cast a veil over his error." * * * "To his conduct that of the captors of Andre forms a striking contrast. He tempted them with the offer of his watch, his horse and any sum of money they should name. They rejected his offer with indignation. The gold that could seduce a man high in the esteem and confidence of his country, who had the remembrance of past exploits, the motives of present reputation and future glory to prop his integrity had no charms for three simple peasants, lean-

ing only on their virtue and an honest sense of their duty. While Arnold is handed down with execration to future times posterity will repeat with reverence the names of Van Wart, Paulding and Williams."

To Miss Schuyler (his betrothed), on October 2, 1780, he writes: "Poor Andre suffers to-day. Everything that is amiable in virtue, in fortitude, in delicate sentiment and accomplished manners pleads for him; but hard-hearted policy calls for a sacrifice. * * * I urged a compliance with Andre's request to be shot, and I do not think it would have had an ill effect. When Andre's tale comes to be told, and present resentment is over, the refusing him the privilege of choosing the manner of his death will be branded with too much obstinacy. It was proposed to me to suggest to him the idea of an exchange for Arnold; but I knew I should have forfeited his esteem by doing it, and therefore declined it. As a man of honor he could not but reject it; and I would not for the world have proposed to him a thing which must have placed me in the unamiable light of supposing him capable of meanness, or of not feeling myself the impropriety of the measure."

I have alluded to this subject and quoted the language of Hamilton because it shows the true character of the man. He never failed to recognize merit even in an enemy; his heart was full of compassion and sympathy for those in misfortune, and devotion to duty and country inspired him with admiration and affection; but for the betrayer of his country he had only scorn and contempt. There was pity for Andre, reverence for the integrity and fidelity of his captors, and execration for Arnold; yet his high sense of honor would not suffer him to even suggest to the unfortunate and misguided Andre the plan of his exchange for Arnold, although there is no doubt he would have gone to any extreme, to which his sense of duty and propriety would permit, to secure the return of Arnold to the American authorities for trial and the punishment his treason justly merited.

Peace having been declared, Washington having issued his "Farewell Address" at Fraunces' Tavern, Hamilton began to devote himself to the practice of his profession. His official cares had for some time necessitated a neglect of his private business, and he hoped now to recover his losses and to make suitable provision for his wife and children. But his expectations were not realized; his country required his further services, and for years he labored strenuously to secure a union of the States based upon a Constitution giving to the Congress powers sufficient to enforce the laws and preserve the Union.

IN CONGRESS.

After the cessation of hostilities in 1781, he was elected to Congress, where his efforts on behalf of the soldiers are well known. The history of the adoption of the Constitution may almost be said to be an epitome of Hamilton's life until its final adoption on July 26, 1788. At the Annapolis and Philadelphia conventions he devoted all his powers of eloquence and

reasoning to procure its adoption; it was not what he desired, but "the best that could be had." He desired and advocated a strong centralized government; the one adopted was a compromise between the advocates of States rights and those of a strong centralized government. He prepared and submitted to the convention a plan which, though not adopted in full, yet shows his wonderful foresight and knowledge of what was required in the great contract of union, to preserve the nation in its entirety and insure to the people a government with powers adequate to the maintenance of law and order at home and for the protection of its citizens abroad.

After its adoption by the convention, the plan was submitted to the various States for their approval. It became necessary for New York to join the other States, in order to secure its adoption. A convention was called at Poughkeepsie for the purpose of considering the plan, and all eyes were turned to Hamilton, who had every reason to fear that the opponents of the plan in the convention would prevent its ratification; but he was equal to the emergency, and in a masterly speech convinced the members of the advisability of and necessity for its adoption, with the result that New York gave its approval, and the Constitution was ratified and became the fundamental law of the land.

The joy of the people was unbounded, and manifested itself in grand civic parades, in one of which, through the streets of New York, was borne on wheels a full-manned and full-rigged ship, bearing the name of "Hamilton," from which, en route, salvos of artillery announced the adoption of the Constitution and the glorious services of Alexander Hamilton.

THE FEDERALIST.

Hamilton had not confined his efforts alone to the Congress and the conventions, but in a series of papers, subsequently published under the title of "The Federalists," contributed vastly to a proper understanding of the situation and the requirements of such an organic law.

"There is not," says Guizot, "in the Constitution of the United States an element of order, force or duration which he did not powerfully contribute to introduce into it and cause to predominate," and "The Federalists is the greatest known work in the application of elementary principles to the practical administration of government."

Upon the election of Washington as President, Hamilton was tendered and accepted the office of Secretary of the Treasury. His reports on finance, manufactures and the national bank showed that he was as great a financier as he was soldier and statesman. His arduous labors and the multiplicity of his public duties naturally resulted in petit jealousies among his opponents, and efforts were made to injure his reputation and thus deprive him of his great influence and power. The "Giles Resolutions" were intended for that purpose, but resulted in an ignominious failure, and Hamilton's signal triumph.

In 1794 the Whiskey Insurrections in Pennsylvania occurred, but were promptly suppressed by Hamilton. In the same year he was offered and refused the Chief Justiceship of the United States Supreme Court.

GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

On December 14, 1798, Washington having retired to private life, and disputes having arisen with France, which made a war with that nation imminent, Hamilton, at the urgent request of Washington, was made General-in-Chief of the United States Army; fortunately the war was averted, and Hamilton was enabled to devote his time and labors to his profession.

It is a fact not generally known, that at the time of his fatal meeting with Burr, Hamilton was engaged in the preparation of a work to which he had devoted years of assiduous labor, the importance and value of which can only at the present day be but faintly estimated. The ground-work was a compilation of the theories of government and laws to be treated of in an analytical, scientific manner.

Not satisfied with the declarations as laid down by Blackstone, which were accepted as the corner-stone of modern common law, he had carefully segregated the theories and propositions of all the known law makers, from the time that the decalogue was pronounced amid the flashing of lightning and the roll of thunder, down to the time when, on the banks of the Runnymede, Magna Charta was forced from John. Assyrian, Persian, Egyptian, Grecian and Latin lore were the gardens from which he plucked the many buds with which to decorate his work. Confucius, Justinian, Blackstone and Napoleon were open books to him, and in connection with this he had also followed the indistinct paths of Political Economists, who up to that time were only blazing a pathway in the dense forest. This was to him a labor of love—his last ambition—the dream of his later years—never to be realized.

Literature was robbed of this brilliant work by the same bullet which laid low the noble gentleman and chivalric American, Alexander Hamilton.

It being my intention to-night to confine myself more particularly to Hamilton's military career, leaving for a subsequent lecture his achievements as statesman, jurist and financier, I have only cursorily alluded to the events following the declaration of peace, and beg now to close my remarks with a short allusion to the sad event which ended his career.





THE DUELING GROUNDS

THE DUEL.

There were, in the beginning of the present century, two beautiful homes in the vicinity of New York, occupied by men of prominence. They were distinguished lawyers, and each the leader of a great national political organization. One of these homes was Richmond Hill, situated at the junction of what is now Varick and Vandam streets; the other, "The Grange," at the junction of One Hundred and Forty-third street and Tenth avenue. One was the home of Aaron Burr, then Vice-President of the United States, the other of Alexander Hamilton.

In each of these homes, during the months of June and July, 1804, preparations were being made for a drama, whose sad and tragic sequel was to cast its dismal shadow across the pathway of an infant republic, pluck from a nation's galaxy its brightest star, and deprive the world of a great, noble and unselfish benefactor.

On the morning of June 18th, General Hamilton was the recipient of a letter from Colonel Burr, demanding from him an explanation or disavowal of certain remarks reported by one Dr. Cooper to have been made by Hamilton concerning Burr. This led to the exchange of several letters between the parties and their seconds*—Judge Nathaniel Pendleton acting for General Hamilton and William P. Van Ness for Colonel Burr. Hamilton was opposed to duelling, and did all he could, consistent with honor, to prevent the fatal meeting. He had only two years before lost his oldest son in a duel with George Eacker.† But the Code of Honor prevailed, and on June 27th the challenge was sent and accepted. At the request of Hamilton, the meeting was postponed until July 11th, to enable him to attend to some important business of his clients, during the term of the court then being held, and adjust his private affairs.

On the 4th of July a very sad, peculiar and touching incident transpired, which, in view of the attendant circumstances, is of more than passing interest. On that natal day of the Republic, the Society of the Cincinnati had their annual banquet, at which Hamilton, as President-General, presided, and at his side sat the guest of the evening—the Vice-President of the United States, Aaron Burr. Picture to yourselves the feelings of the presiding officer under such conditions as these! In seven days he was to meet in deadly combat the man he was called on to honor as the representative of the National Government, and that man sat there with all the nonchalance, unconcern and careless indifference of one who had a premonition of the final issue. Hamilton was serious and earnest, his words were full of love and his manner full of gentleness and tenderness toward his friends about him. He was urged to sing, and when the company would take no refusal, he sang his favorite ballad, "How Stands the Glass Around."‡

* Note 4, p. 39.

† Note 6, p. 50

‡ Note 10, p. 72.

Foreboding the dreadful result, Hamilton made his will.* It is short, but as it shows the true character of the man, let me read you a portion of it:

"Though, if it should please God to spare my life, I may look for a considerable surplus out of my present property; yet if He should speedily call me to the eternal world, a forced sale, as is usual, may possibly render it insufficient to satisfy my debts. I pray God that something may remain for the maintenance and education of my dear wife and children. But should it on the contrary happen, that there is not enough for the payment of my debts, I entreat my dear children, if they, or any of them, should ever be able, to make up the deficiency. I, without hesitation, commit to their delicacy a wish dictated by my own. Though conscious that I have too far sacrificed the interests of my family to public avocations, and on this account have the less claim to burthen my children, yet I trust in their magnanimity to appreciate as they ought this my request. In so unfavourable an event of things, the support of their dear mother, with the most respectful and tender attention, is a duty, all the sacredness of which they will feel. Probably her own patrimonial resources will preserve her from indigence. But in all situations they are charged to bear in mind that she has been to them the most devoted and best of mothers."

Here, in these few words, we find the strongest proof of his exalted character. His honor was his first and greatest solicitude; that none of his children should ever have occasion to be ashamed to bear his name. "Should there not be enough for the payment of my debts, I entreat my dear children to make up the deficiency." Conscious that he had too far sacrificed the interests of his family to public avocations, he lifts his voice in prayerful appeal to the Divine Helper, "I pray God that something may remain for the maintenance of my dear wife and children," and then, as if in benediction, commands to his children "the most devoted and best of mothers," whose "support, with the most respectful and tender attention, is a duty all the sacredness of which they will feel."

Well may the illustrious Nott** have exclaimed, "Oh, thou disconsolate widow! Robbed, so cruelly robbed, in so short a time, both of husband and son! Oh God! If Thou art still the widow's husband, and the father of the fatherless,—if, in the fullness of Thy goodness there be yet mercies in store for miserable mortals, pity, oh pity this afflicted mother, and grant that her hapless orphans may find a friend, a benefactor, a father in Thee!"

Having made his will, he prepared a statement† explaining his reasons for accepting Burr's challenge, and his intentions.

I will read you some of his remarks, explanatory of his conduct, motives and views on the expected interview:

"I was certainly desirous of avoiding this interview, for the most cogent reasons.

* Note 2, p. 36.

** Note 9, p. 57-71.

† Note 3, p. 39.

" My religious and moral principles are strongly opposed to the practice of duelling, and it would ever give me pain to be obliged to shed the blood of a fellow-creature in a private combat, forbidden by the laws.

" My wife and children are extremely dear to me, and my life is of the utmost importance to them, in various views.

" I feel a sense of obligation towards my creditors, who, in case of accident to me, by the forced sale of my property, may be in some degree sufferers. I did not think myself at liberty, as a man of probity, lightly to expose them to this hazard.

" I have resolved, if our interview is conducted in the usual manner, and it pleases God to give me the opportunity, to reserve and throw away my first fire — and I have thoughts even of reserving my second fire — and thus giving a double opportunity to Colonel Burr to pause and reflect.

" To those who, with me, abhorring the practice of duelling, may think that I ought on no account to have added to the number of bad examples, I answer, that my relative situation, as well in public as private, enforcing all the considerations which constitute what men of the world denominate honour, imposed on me (as I thought) a peculiar necessity not to decline the call. *The ability to be in future useful, whether in resisting mischief or affecting good, in those crises of our political affairs, which seem likely to happen, would probably be inseparable from a conformity with public prejudice in this particular.*"

While Hamilton was thus engaged, Burr was at Richmond Hill practicing at a target in his garden by day, and at night, with the assistance of his good man, Davis, destroying compromising correspondence with women.*

At early dawn on Wednesday, July 11, 1804, Alexander Hamilton silently and with heavy heart left The Grange** and drove down the Bloomingdale road to the foot of Gansevoort street, then called the Great Kiln road, stopping on his way for Dr. David Hosack, the surgeon who had been agreed on, and Judge Pendleton, his second. There they took a boat and were rowed to Weehawken.† On arriving there, they found Colonel Burr, Van Ness and Davis engaged in clearing away the bushes for the meeting. The preliminaries‡ were soon arranged, and choice of place and word of command fell to Hamilton's second. Unaccountably, Judge Pendleton selected for his principal a position facing the morning sun, and in front of a projecting stone, which gave to his antagonist every advantage of aim, while Burr stood free from any object that might aid or assist Hamilton in directing his fire. This done, Judge Pendleton asked, " Are you ready? " and on receiving an affirmative answer from both, gave the command agreed on, " Present! " Colonel Burr thereupon took deliberate aim and fired. His bullet struck Hamilton in

* See Lodge's Hamilton, " Statesmen Series," p. 249; Morse, Vol. II, p. 368.

** Note 5, p. 47.

† Note 6, p. 50.

‡ Note 7, p. 53.

the right side, fractured the second or third false rib, and, passing thence through the body, lodged in the vertebra or spinal column, splintering it to such an extent that the little particles of bone were distinctly perceptible to the finger. When struck, he raised himself convulsively on his toes, turned slightly to the left and fell forward upon his face, apparently lifeless. In this convulsive movement his pistol was discharged without his being conscious of it, and this fact has given rise to a great deal of controversy in regard to whether Hamilton fired at Burr or not.* He was immediately removed to the boat by Pendleton and Hosack, and taken down the river to the place whence they had embarked. On the way he recovered consciousness, and seeing the case of pistols in the boat, and observing the one that he had taken in his hand lying on the outside, he said: "Take care of that pistol; it is undischarged and still cocked; it may go off and do harm. Pendleton knows that I did not intend to fire at him." After saying this, he again closed his eyes and had very little to say until the boat approached the shore, when he again rallied sufficiently to request that his wife be sent for and that the event be gradually broken to her.

On arriving at the wharf the party was met by Mr. William Bayard, who appeared to be in great distress, surmising the dreadful result, and Hamilton was conveyed in a cot to his (Bayard's) house, the one about which he had stood guard as a boy to protect the records of the Province of New York, in 1776. On the following day he died in this house.† His sufferings were intolerable, and although resort was had to all known remedies and the surgeons of the French frigate, then present in our harbor, were called in consultation with Drs. Hosack and Post, the attending physicians, nothing could relieve his pain. Yet, in all his agony, his mind was clear and active—his thoughts were directed more to his "beloved wife and children," of whom he frequently spoke, and he was more concerned with their sufferings, more anxious about their welfare than his own. Just before he expired they were brought to his bedside—the dear, devoted, distracted wife and seven disconsolate children—his emotion overcame him and, for the first time, his speech failed him. In the presence of these poor innocent and unfortunate victims of a barbarous custom Hamilton could speak no word of cheer or sympathy—no word of hope, nor solace nor consolation. Their grief and despair, their helpless agony and burning tears were mute but earnest protests against the custom to which he had yielded his assent. There they stood, the helpless victims of the Code of Honor—widowed and orphaned by his own act, in consenting to the meeting that he must have known involved so much misery, such awful sacrifices. He could not speak, but turning his head in the direction where they were standing, he gave them one last long look and, closing his eyes to them and the world, passed away, with this bittersweet, this sweetly-sad vision of all that was near and dear to him on earth.

* Note 8, p. 54.

† Note 5, p. 47.

Oh, what a scene of desolation — what a picture of self-inflicted woe! Oh, Hamilton! Hero of Monmouth and Yorktown, you whose courage and valour were shown on many a bloody field of battle — you, whose honor and integrity were so unquestioned, whose services were so valued and esteemed by your countrymen! You, so dear to your family and friends! How could you yield assent to this barbarous custom?

His body was thence removed to the residence of his brother-in-law, John B. Church, at 25 Robinson street, what is now the northeast corner of Church street and Park place. There it remained until the following Saturday, July 14th, when it was taken with military and civic honors* to Trinity Church, and interred in the churchyard, a few feet from Rector street. A simple monument marks the spot. On this is carved the following epitaph:

"To the Memory of
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.
The Corporation of Trinity Church has
erected this Monument in Testimony of their respect
For
The Patriot of Incorruptible Integrity
The Soldier of Approved Valor
The Statesman of Consummate Wisdom:
Whose Talents and Virtues will be admired by Grate-
ful Posterity long after this marble shall
have mouldered into dust.
He died July 12, 1804. Aged 47.

The beautiful Church of St. Thomas in Strasbourg is a monument by Louis XV to the memory of Marshal Sachs. It is one of the striking and wonderful groups in marble I have ever seen: A monad stands out in relief from the walls of the church. In front of this, in relief, stands the full life-size figure of Marshal Sachs, descending from an open sarcophagus. The ominous figure of Death stands at one end of the tomb, holding aloft the lid of the coffin, and, looking up to the hero, descends; Hercules, at the other end, leans on his club, overwhelmed with grief. Between the Marshal and Death is the figure of a woman — representing France — half-kneeling, half-crouching — earnestly gazing with Death, while with uplifted hand she seeks to stay the hero in his descent. To the right are ranged the victorious flags of France, against which, with inverted torch, a little figure, representing the dead, leans and weeps. On the left are the flags and emblems of the countries the valiant soldier had conquered in battle.

It is a wonderful group, exquisite in design, grand in conception and unsurpassed in its masterful execution. Such a monument would but fitly commemorate the life, the virtues and the priceless services of our own

* Note 11, p. 73.

Hamilton. But he needs no monument save that which his own genius has carved upon the tablets of history. Upon the fields of Long Island, and on the Heights of Harlem and White Plains, at Monmouth and Yorktown, he has left the impress of his courage, valor and patriotism. In the convention halls of Annapolis, Poughkeepsie and Philadelphia his voice was the clarion note that, appealing to the pride and honor of his countrymen, led to the adoption of the Constitution, and the establishment of a nation that to-day commands the respect and admiration of the world — a Government powerful and fearless in the protection of the lives, liberty and property of its citizens, and magnanimous beyond parallel in the treatment of its vanquished foes. But the pen of Hamilton was mightier than his sword; he gave to the world in his "Federalist" a commentary upon constitutional law and enlightened self-government that stands not only unrivaled but unequalled in the history of jurisprudence. As a lawyer he was the brightest ornament of the bar of his State and country; as a man he was loved for his sterling integrity and noble character, and when he died a nation mourned his loss and tongue and pen have never ceased to eulogize his virtues.

When the Walhalla of our country's heroes has been erected, there we shall find, beneath its great dome, a marble group, embodying the virtue, the genius and the valor of the American Character. First, greatest and noblest of them all, stands the majestic figure of our illustrious Washington; on his right, Thomas Jefferson, the diplomat-statesman, and author of the Declaration of Independence; on his left, Alexander Hamilton, the valiant soldier and incorruptible patriot, the brilliant orator and profound jurist, wise statesman and financier — the Founder of our National Greatness. Around his form the noble Washington threw the holy circle of his confidence and love; and he, who would speed the covert arrow of malice at Hamilton, will not fail to pierce the heart and wound the character and reputation of the great father of his country.

Margaret
dau. of Sir Thomas Stewart,
of Glentroth

Janet Spreul — John Pollok,
predeceased his father.

John Pollok,
of Pollok, d. young.

Margaret
dau. of Gabriel Balfour,
of Cathcart

Janet
dau. of William Moore,
of Glanderton.

Meredith
dau. of Sir Neil Montgomery,
of Lainsford.
to issue

Janet
dau. of James Monat, of
Bushy, Co. Tyrone;

dau. of Sir Michael Stewart,
of Stewart.

No issue

Annabella
dau. of Sir George Maxwell,
of Nether Pollok.

Robert Pollok -----
of Pollok, was created a
Baronet in 1703, and
d. 1736.

No issue

Robert,
d. anno. 1780

John -----
of Balgay, killed
at Fontenoy in 1746.

Ann,
dau. of John
Lockhart, of Lee.

William

dau. of Boyle
of Daldowie.

Walter Pollok. Robert Pollok — Sir Hugh Crawford
d. 1732. 2nd Baronet of
Kilbirney Co. Tyrone
d. 1794

Sir Robert Pollok,
2nd Baronet of Pollok,
d. without male issue
in 1783.

✓ The Crawford-Pollocks,
Baronets of Kilbirney &c.

dau.

Philip. Eugenica,
d. anno. 1801. d. anno.

John — Mary Anne

1C
131
132
133
134



Charles Pollok,
of Pollok: 1486

David Pollok
succeeded his nephew in
Pollok, and 1548.

Marion,
da. of Sir William Stewart,
of Cawdor.

John Pollok,
of Pollok.

John Pollok,
of Pollok, was a supporter of Queen Mary Stewart and fought
on her side at Langside in 1568.

John Pollok, -----
d. 1593.

Oronista (2nd wife),
dau. and co-heiress of Capt.
James Stewart, of Cardonall.

Robert Pollok,
of Pollok, d. 1657.

Robert Pollok -----
C. Pollok.

Jean (2nd wife),
dau. of Cornelius Crawford, of
Jordanhill, Co. Renfrew [by Mary,
dau. of Sir James Lockhart, of Lee] *

Abella (2nd wife),
of Walter Stewart,
ardovan.

Mary,
m. Robert Semple,
of Beltree.

Jean,
m. James Pollok,
of Arthurie.

Annabella
m. James Hamilton
of Newton.

Elizabeth Pollok ----- Alexander Hamilton,
of Grange in Leicestershire, Scotland.

Miss. Fawcette ----- James Hamilton, 4th son,
removed to the island of St. Kitts
in the West Indies.

Elizabeth ----- Gen. Alexander Hamilton, b. 1757
m. Philip Schuyler; a distinguished American statesman,
d. 1804.

William Stephen,
d. imm.

Eliza
m. Sidney R. Holly.

1776 Mar. 14. Captain of Artillery.— Provincial company. On recommendation of McDougal. Defending records. Bayard House.

July 4. Declaration of Independence.

Aug. 27. Battle of Long Island. Covering the retreat of General Washington.

Sept. 15. Battle of Harlem Heights. Observed by Washington while throwing up breastworks in Central Park.

Oct. 28. Battle of White Plains. Chatterton Hill — Leslie's charge. Nov&Dec The Jersey Retreat.— The Raritan incident. New Brunswick.

Dec. 26. Battle of Trenton.

1777 Jan. 3. Battle of Princeton.

Mar. 15. Aide-de-Camp to Washington. Sent to Congress by Washington. Planning campaigns at Morristown. Negotiations, re-exchange of prisoners. Efforts on behalf of General Lee. Defense of the Hudson.

April 5. Letter to the Provincial Congress. Logical reasoning.

July 22. Remarks on Burgoyne and Howe, and the capture of Philadelphia.

Aug. 4. Remarks on the Fall of Ticonderoga. Letter to Hancock, re-danger of the city. Battle of Germantown and Howe's retreat to Philadelphia. Gates in command of the Northern Army.

Oct. 17. Surrender of Burgoyne.

30. Hamilton sent to Gates and Putnam. The Conway, Gates and Miflin Cabal.

Nov. 15. Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union adopted by Congress.

Dec. 19. Valley Forge. Foreign officers arrive. LaFayette, Steuben, Pulaski, Kosciusko, DeNoailles, DuPortail, DuPlessis, Rochambeau and DeGrasse. Adjustment of their rank. Steuben at Valley Forge. Hamilton-Steuben plan of re-organization. Exchange of prisoners at Philadelphia. Hamilton acting for General Washington.

1778 June 18. Philadelphia evacuated by Howe. Council of War, re-attack on Howe. Washington overruled. Second Council of War — Greene, Wayne and LaFayette for, Lee et al., against. Washington again overruled. Hamilton urges action, and in company with Greene, called upon Washington to urge an attack on Howe. Hamilton assigned to Lafayette. Active preparations.

28. Battle of Monmouth.

July 9. Articles of Confederation ratified and proclaimed.

1779 Hamilton submits plans of action to Congress. His defensive campaign approved and adopted. Plans to capture Sir Henry Clinton. Hamilton's reasons for opposing it. Count D'Estaing's arrival, and Hamilton and DuPortail sent to him.

1780 The question of finance, the all important. Winter quarters at Morristown. Letter to Robert Morris on finance, Disasters in the South. Mutiny at Morristown.

1780 Sept.-Oct. Arnold and Andre incident. Measures of Government. Convention of States. Letter to Duane. Greene given the Southern command in place of Gates. Hamilton asks for a separate command.

Dec. 14. His marriage to Miss Schuyler.

1781 Mutiny of Connecticut troops. Solitude of Hamilton. Hamilton requested to go as Envoy to France. Declines in favor of Laurens.

Feb. 16. Resignation as Aide to Washington. Causes and Circumstances. Renews application for separate command. The Continentalists articles.

Sept. 5. Arrival of DeGrasse. Robert Morris' financial aid. Hamilton in command of a corps.

Oct. 14. Battle of Yorktown.

1782 The study of law.

May 2. Receiver of Continental Taxes in New York. Address to the public creditors of the State of New York. Member of Congress.

Nov. 25. Took his seat in Congress. Efforts on behalf of Soldiers. Financial depression. Jealousy of the States. Territorial complication. New York and Hampshire Grants. Virginia and West of Alleganies Territory. Pennsylvania and Connecticut claims. North Carolina and Tennessee territory.

1783 Peace declared. "Farewell Address" at Fraunces Tavern.

1783-89 Constitutional History.

1786 Sept. 11. I. Annapolis Convention. Hamilton as delegate. (N. Y.) (Va.) (Penn.) (Del.) (N. J.)

1787 May 14. II. Philadelphia Convention. Hamilton, Yates and Lansing. Hamilton's plan. Jersey plan. Virginia plan.

June 15. III. Poughkeepsie Convention. Hamilton's great speech and results.

1788 July 26. Adoption of the Constitution. By the ratification of New York. Federalist papers.

1789 Mar. 4. Organization of the Government. Hamilton Secretary of the Treasury. His reports on Finance; Manufactures; National Bank. Great labor and influence and consequent jealousy. The Giles Resolutions. Reynolds affair. Hamilton's triumph.

Margaret
dau. of Sir Thomas Stewart,
of Minto

Janet Spreul — John Pollok,
predeceased his father.

John Pollok,
of Pollok, d. young.

Margaret
dau. of Gabriel Semple,

Fulbert

clerk,

clerk,

clerk,
one of the Scottish barons who swore
aid I. of England in 1296.

clerk,

clerk

2.

clerk,

3.

39.

4.

ticable, to leave a door open to accommodation. This, I think, will be inferred from the written communications made by me and by my directions, and would be confirmed by the conversations between Mr. Van Ness and myself, which arose out of the subject.

I am not sure whether, under all the circumstances, I did not go further in the attempt to accommodate, than a punctilious delicacy will justify. If so, I hope the motives I have stated will excuse me.

It is not my design, by what I have said, to affix any odium on the conduct of Colonel Burr in this case. He doubtless has heard of animadversions of mine which bore very hard upon him; and it is probable that, as usual, they were accompanied with some falsehoods. He may have supposed himself under the necessity of acting as he has done. I hope the grounds of his proceeding have been such as ought to satisfy his own conscience.

I trust, at the same time, that the world will do me the justice to believe that I have not censured him on light grounds, nor from unworthy inducements. I certainly have had strong reasons for what I may have said; though it is possible that, in some particulars, I may have been influenced by misconstruction or misinformation. It is also my ardent wish that I may have been more mistaken than I think I have been; and that he, by his future conduct, may show himself worthy of all confidence and esteem, and prove an ornament and blessing to the country.

As well because it is possible that I may have injured Colonel Burr, however convinced myself that my opinions and declarations have been well founded, as from my general principles and temper in relation to similar affairs, I have resolved, if our interview is conducted in the usual manner, and it pleases God to give me the opportunity, to reserve and throw away my first fire, and I have thoughts even of reserving my second fire — and thus giving a double opportunity to Colonel Burr to pause and reflect.

It is not, however, my intention to enter into any explanations on the ground. Apology, from principle, I hope, rather than pride, is out of the question.

To those who, with me, abhorring the practice of duelling, may think that I ought on no account to have added to the number of bad examples, I answer, that my relative situation, as well in public as private, enforcing all the considerations which constitute what men of the world denominate honour, imposed on me (as I thought) a peculiar necessity not to decline the call. The ability to be in future useful, whether in resisting mischief or effecting good, in those crises of our public affairs, which seem likely to happen, would probably be inseparable from a conformity with public prejudice in this particular.

A. H.



Abwe

[Note 4.]

HAMILTON-BURR CORRESPONDENCE.

In the early part of 1804, Chancellor Lansing was nominated by the Republicans for the office of Governor of the State of New York: on February 18th, he declined the nomination. On the same day members of the Legislature favoring the nomination of Aaron Burr as an independent candidate held a meeting at the Tontine Coffee House, in the city of Albany, and nominated him for Governor.

Two days later Chief Judge Lewis received the regular nomination in the place of Chancellor Lansing, who had declined.

After the nomination of Mr. Burr, and before Mr. Lansing's declination, a meeting of prominent Federalists was held in a tavern in Albany. It was intended to be a secret consultation, but it is stated that two of Burr's emissaries had found admission into a bedchamber adjoining the room in which the meeting was held, for the purpose of listening to all that passed.

This meeting of the Federalists probably gave rise to the letter of Charles D. Cooper, which, though intended merely as an electioneering or campaign document, resulted in the correspondence with Burr and the fatal duel.

On April 12, 1804, the Cooper letter was published, in which the following language was used: "General Hamilton, the patroon's brother-in-law, it is said, has come out decidedly against Burr. Indeed, when he was here he spoke of him as a dangerous man, and who ought not to be trusted." General Schuyler, Hamilton's father-in-law, on seeing this, published a statement regarding it. Dr. Cooper thereupon reiterated his previous assertion that "General Hamilton and Judge Kent have declared, in substance, that they looked upon Mr. Burr to be a dangerous man, and one who ought not to be trusted with the reins of government," and added, "I could detail to you a still more despicable opinion which General Hamilton has expressed of Mr. Burr."

Within a few days this correspondence was published in the newspapers at Albany, and two months thereafter resulted in the following correspondence between Burr and Hamilton:

No. I.

New York, June 18, 1804.

Sir.— I send for your perusal a letter signed Charles D. Cooper, which, though apparently published some time ago, has but very recently come to my knowledge. Mr. Van Ness, who does me the favor to deliver this, will point out to you that clause of the letter to which I particularly request your attention.

You must perceive, Sir, the necessity of a prompt and unqualified acknowledgment or denial of the use of any expression which would warrant the assertions of Dr. Cooper.

I have the honour to be, your obedient serv't,

General Hamilton.

A. BURR.

* * * * *

No. II.

New York, June 20, 1804.

Sir.—I have maturely reflected on the subject of your letter of the 18th inst., and the more I have reflected the more I have become convinced that I could not, without manifest impropriety, make the avowal or disavowal which you seem to think necessary. The clause pointed out by Mr. Van Ness is in these terms: "I could detail to you a still more despicable opinion which General Hamilton has expressed of Mr. Burr." To endeavor to discover the meaning of this declaration, I was obliged to seek in the antecedent part of this letter for the opinion to which it referred, as having been already disclosed. I found it in these words: "General Hamilton and Judge Kent have declared in substance that they looked upon Mr. Burr to be a dangerous man, and one who ought not to be trusted with the reins of government."

The language of Dr. Cooper plainly implies that he considered this opinion of you, which he attributes to me, as a despicable one; but he affirms that I have expressed some other, more despicable, without, however, mentioning to whom, when, or where. 'Tis evident that the phrase, "still more despicable," admits of infinite shades, from very light to very dark. How am I to judge of the degree intended? or shall I annex any precise idea to language so indefinite?

Between gentlemen, despicable and more despicable are not worth the pains of distinction; when, therefore, you do not interrogate me as to the opinion which is specifically ascribed to me, I must conclude that you view it as within the limits to which the animadversions of political opponents upon each other may justifiably extend, and consequently as not warranting the idea of it which Doctor Cooper appears to entertain. If so, what precise inference could you draw, as a guide for your conduct, were I to acknowledge that I had expressed an opinion of you still more despicable than the one which is particularized? How could you be sure that even this opinion had exceeded the bounds which you would yourself deem admissible between political opponents?

But I forbear further comment on the embarrassment, to which the requisition you have made naturally leads. The occasion forbids a more ample illustration, though nothing could be more easy than to pursue it.

Repeating that I cannot reconcile it with propriety to make the acknowledgment or denial you desire, I will add that I deem it inadmissible on principle, to consent to be interrogated as to the justness of the inference which may be drawn by others from whatever I may have said of a political opponent in the course of fifteen years' competition. If there were no other objection to it, this is sufficient, that it would tend to expose my sincerity and delicacy to injurious imputations from every person who may at any time have conceived the import of my expressions differently from what I may then have intended or may afterwards recollect. I stand ready to avow or disavow promptly and explicitly any precise or definite

opinion which I may be charged with having declared of any gentleman. More than this cannot fitly be expected from me; and especially it cannot be reasonably expected that I shall enter into an explanation upon a basis so vague as that which you have adopted. I trust on more reflection you will see the matter in the same light with me. If not, I can only regret the circumstances and must abide the consequences.

The publication of Doctor Cooper was never seen by me till after the receipt of your letter.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

A. HAMILTON.

Colonel Burr.

* * * * *

No. III.

New York, 21st June, 1804.

Sir.— Your letter of the 20th instant has been this day received. Having considered it attentively, I regret to find in it nothing of that sincerity and delicacy which you profess to value.

Political opposition can never absolve gentlemen from the necessity of a rigid adherence to the laws of honour, and the rules of decorum. I neither claim such privilege nor indulge it in others.

The common sense of mankind affixes to the epithet adopted by Doctor Cooper the idea of dishonour. It has been publicly applied to me under the sanction of your name. The question is not, whether he has understood the meaning of the word, or has used it according to syntax, and with grammatical accuracy; but, whether you have authorized this application, either directly or by uttering expressions or opinions derogatory to my honour. The time "when" is in your own knowledge, but no way material to me, as the calumny has now first been disclosed, so as to become the subject of my notice, and as the effect is present and palpable.

Your letter has furnished me with new reasons for requiring a definite reply.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

A. BURR.

General Hamilton.

The result of this letter was that General Hamilton called on Judge Nathaniel Pendleton, who subsequently acted as his second in the duel.

No. IV.

June 23, 1804.

Sir.— In the afternoon of yesterday, I reported to Colonel Burr the result of my last interview with you, and appointed the evening to receive his further instructions. Some private engagements, however, prevented me from calling on him till this morning. On my return to the city, I found upon inquiry, both at your office and house, that you had returned to your residence in the country. Lest an interview there might be less

agreeable to you than elsewhere, I have taken the liberty of addressing you this note to inquire when and where it will be most convenient to you to receive a communication.

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

W. P. VAN NESS.

General Hamilton.

* * * * *
No. V.

New York, June 22, 1804.

Sir.— Your first letter, in a style too peremptory, made a demand, in my opinion, unprecedented and unwarrantable. My answer, pointing out the embarrassment, gave you an opportunity to take a less exceptionable course. You have not chosen to do it; but by your last letter, received this day, containing expressions indecorous and improper, you have increased the difficulties to explanation intrinsically incident to the nature of your application.

If by a "definite reply," you mean the direct avowal or disavowal required in your first letter, I have no other answer to give, than that which has already been given. If you mean anything different, admitting of greater latitude, it is requisite you should explain.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

ALEX. HAMILTON.

Aaron Burr, Esq.

* * * * *
Between June 22d and 25th, there were several conferences between Judge Pendleton and Mr. Van Ness, in one of which Judge Pendleton suggested that if Colonel Burr would write a letter, requesting to know in substance whether, in the conversation to which Dr. Cooper alluded, any particular instance of dishonourable conduct was imputed to Colonel Burr, or whether there was any impeachment of his private character, General Hamilton would declare to the best of his recollection what passed in that conversation; and read to Mr. Van Ness the following memorandum, No. 6, which was subsequently delivered to Mr. Van Ness in the form No. 7.

No. VI.

General Hamilton says he cannot imagine to what Dr. Cooper may have alluded, unless it were to a conversation at Mr. Taylor's, in Albany, last winter (at which he and General Hamilton were present). General Hamilton cannot recollect distinctly the particulars of that conversation so as to undertake to repeat them, without running the risk of varying, or omitting what might be deemed important circumstances. The expressions are entirely forgotten, and the specific ideas imperfectly remembered, but to the best of his recollection it consisted of comments on the political principles and views of Colonel Burr, and the results that might be expected from them in the event of his election as Governor, without reference to any particular instance of past conduct, or to private character.

No. VII.

In answer to a letter properly adapted to obtain from General Hamilton a declaration whether he had charged Colonel Burr with any particular instance of dishonourable conduct, or had impeached his private character, either in the conversation alluded to by Dr. Cooper or in any other particular instance to be specified, he would be able to answer consistently with his honour, and the truth, in substance, that the conversation to which Dr. Cooper alluded, turned wholly on political topics, and did not attribute to Colonel Burr any instance of dishonourable conduct, nor relate to his private character; and in relation to any other language or conversation of General Hamilton which Colonel Burr will specify, a prompt and frank avowal or denial will be given.

* * * * *

No. VIII.

June 26, 1804.

Sir.— The letter which you yesterday delivered me, and your subsequent communication, in Colonel Burr's opinion, evince no disposition on the part of General Hamilton to come to a satisfactory accommodation. The injury complained of and the reparation expected, are so definitely expressed in Colonel Burr's letter of the 21st instant, that there is not perceived a necessity for further explanation on his part. The difficulty that would result from confining the inquiry to any particular times and occasions must be manifest. The denial of a specific conversation only would leave strong implications that on other occasions improper language had been used. When and where injurious opinions and expressions have been uttered by General Hamilton must be best known to him, and of him only will Colonel Burr inquire. No denial or declaration will be satisfactory, unless it be general, so as wholly to exclude the idea that rumours derogatory to Colonel Burr's honour have originated with General Hamilton, or have been fairly inferred from any thing he has said. A definite reply to a requisition of this nature was demanded by Colonel Burr's letter of the 21st instant. This being refused, invites the alternative alluded to in General Hamilton's letter of the 20th.

It was required by the position in which the controversy was placed by General Hamilton on Friday last, and I was immediately furnished with a communication demanding a personal interview. The necessity of this measure has not, in the opinion of Colonel Burr, been diminished by the General's last letter, or any communication which has since been received. I am consequently again instructed to deliver you a message, as soon as it may be convenient for you to receive it. I beg therefore you will be so good as to inform me at what hour I can have the pleasure of seeing you.

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

W. P. VAN NESS.

Nathaniel Pendleton, Esq.

* * * * *

No. IX.

June 26, 1804.

Sir.— I have communicated the letter which you did me the honour to write to me of this date, to General Hamilton. The expectations now disclosed on the part of Colonel Burr, appear to him to have greatly extended the original ground of inquiry, and instead of presenting a particular and definite case for explanation, seem to aim at nothing less than an inquisition into his most confidential conversations, as well as others, through the whole period of his acquaintance with Colonel Burr.

While he was prepared to meet the particular case fairly and fully, he thinks it inadmissible that he should be expected to answer at large as to everything that he may possibly have said in relation to the character of Colonel Burr at any time or upon any occasion. Though he is not conscious that any charges which are in circulation to the prejudice of Colonel Burr have originated with him, except one which may have been so considered, and which has long since been fully explained between Colonel Burr and himself—yet he can not consent to be questioned generally as to any rumours which may be afloat derogatory to the character of Colonel Burr, without specification of the several rumours, many of them probably unknown to him. He does not, however, mean to authorize any conclusion as to the real nature of his conduct in relation to Colonel Burr, by his declining so loose and vague a basis of explanation, and he disavows an unwillingness to come to a satisfactory, provided it be an honourable, accommodation. His objection is, the very indefinite ground which Colonel Burr has assumed, in which he is sorry to be able to discern nothing short of predetermined hostility. Presuming, therefore, that it will be adhered to, he has instructed me to receive the message which you have it in charge to deliver. For this purpose I shall be at home and at your command tomorrow morning from 8 to 10 o'clock.

I have the honour to be, respectfully, your obedient servant,

NATHANIEL PENDLETON.

William P. Van Ness, Esq.

* * * * *

No. X.

Sir.— The letter which I had the honour to receive from you, under date of yesterday, states, among other things, that in General Hamilton's opinion, Colonel Burr has taken a very indefinite ground, in which he evinces nothing short of predetermined hostility, and that General Hamilton thinks it inadmissible that the inquiry should extend to his confidential as well as other conversations. In this Colonel Burr can only reply, that secret whispers traducing his fame, and impeaching his honour, are, at least, equally injurious with slanders publicly uttered; that General Hamilton had, at no time, and in no place, a right to use any such injurious expressions; and that the partial negative he is disposed to give, with the reservations he wishes to make, are proofs that he has done the injury specified.

Colonel Burr's request was, in the first instance, proposed in a form the most simple, in order that General Hamilton might give to the affair that course to which he might be induced by his temper and his knowledge of facts. Colonel Burr trusted with confidence, that from the frankness of a soldier and the candour of a gentleman, he might expect an ingenuous declaration. That if, as he had reason to believe, General Hamilton had used expressions derogatory to his honour, he would have had the magnanimity to retract them; and that if, from his language, injurious inferences had been improperly drawn, he would have perceived the propriety of correcting errors, which might thus have been widely diffused. With these impressions, Colonel Burr was greatly surprised at receiving a letter which he considered as evasive, and which in manner he deemed not altogether decorous. In one expectation, however, he was not wholly deceived, for the close of General Hamilton's letter contained an intimation that if Colonel Burr should dislike his refusal to acknowledge or deny, he was ready to meet the consequences. This Colonel Burr deemed a sort of defiance, and would have felt justified in making it the basis of an immediate message. But as the communication contained something concerning the indefiniteness of the request; as he believed it rather the offspring of false pride than of reflection, and as he felt the utmost reluctance to proceed to extremities, while any other hope remained, his request was repeated in terms more explicit. The replies and propositions on the part of General Hamilton, have, in Colonel Burr's opinion, been constantly in substance the same.

Colonel Burr disavows all motives of predetermined hostility, a charge by which he thinks insult added to injury. He feels as a gentleman should feel, when his honour is impeached or assailed; and without sensations of hostility or wishes of revenge, he is determined to vindicate that honour at such hazard as the nature of the case demands.

The length to which this correspondence has extended, only tending to prove that the satisfactory redress, earnestly desired, can not be obtained, he deems it useless to offer any proposition except the simple message which I shall now have the honour to deliver.

I have the honour to be with great respect, your obedient and very humble servant,

W. P. VAN NESS.

Wednesday morning, June 27, 1804.

General Hamilton did not regard this last letter as ending the correspondence, and under that impression he gave Judge Pendleton the following *Remarks on the Letter of June 27, 1804*:

No. 11.

"Whether the observations of this letter are designed merely to justify the result which is indicated in the close of the letter, or may be intended to give an opening for rendering anything explicit which may have been

deemed vague heretofore, can only be judged of by the sequel. At any rate it appears to me necessary not to be misunderstood. Mr. Pendleton is therefore authorized to say, that in the course of the present discussion, written or verbal, there has been no intention to evade, defy, or insult, but a sincere disposition to avoid extremities if it could be done with propriety. With this view, General Hamilton has been ready to enter into a frank and free explanation on any and every object of a specific nature; but not to answer a general and abstract inquiry, embracing a period too long for any accurate recollection, and exposing him to unpleasant criticisms from, or unpleasant discussions with, any and every person, who may have understood him in an unfavorable sense. This (admitting that he could answer in a manner the most satisfactory to Colonel Burr) he should deem inadmissible, in principle and precedent, and humiliating in practice. To this, therefore, he can never submit. Frequent allusion has been made to slanders said to be in circulation. Whether they are openly or in whispers, they have a form and shape, and might be specified.

If the alternative alluded to in the close of the letter is definitely tendered, it must be accepted; the time, place and manner, to be afterward regulated. I should not think it right in the midst of a Circuit Court to withdraw my services from those who may have confided important interests to me, and expose them to the embarrassment of seeking other counsel, who may not have time to be sufficiently instructed in their causes. I shall also want a little time to make some arrangements respecting my own affairs."

* * * * *

Press Comments.

Evening Post, Wednesday, July 18, 1804.

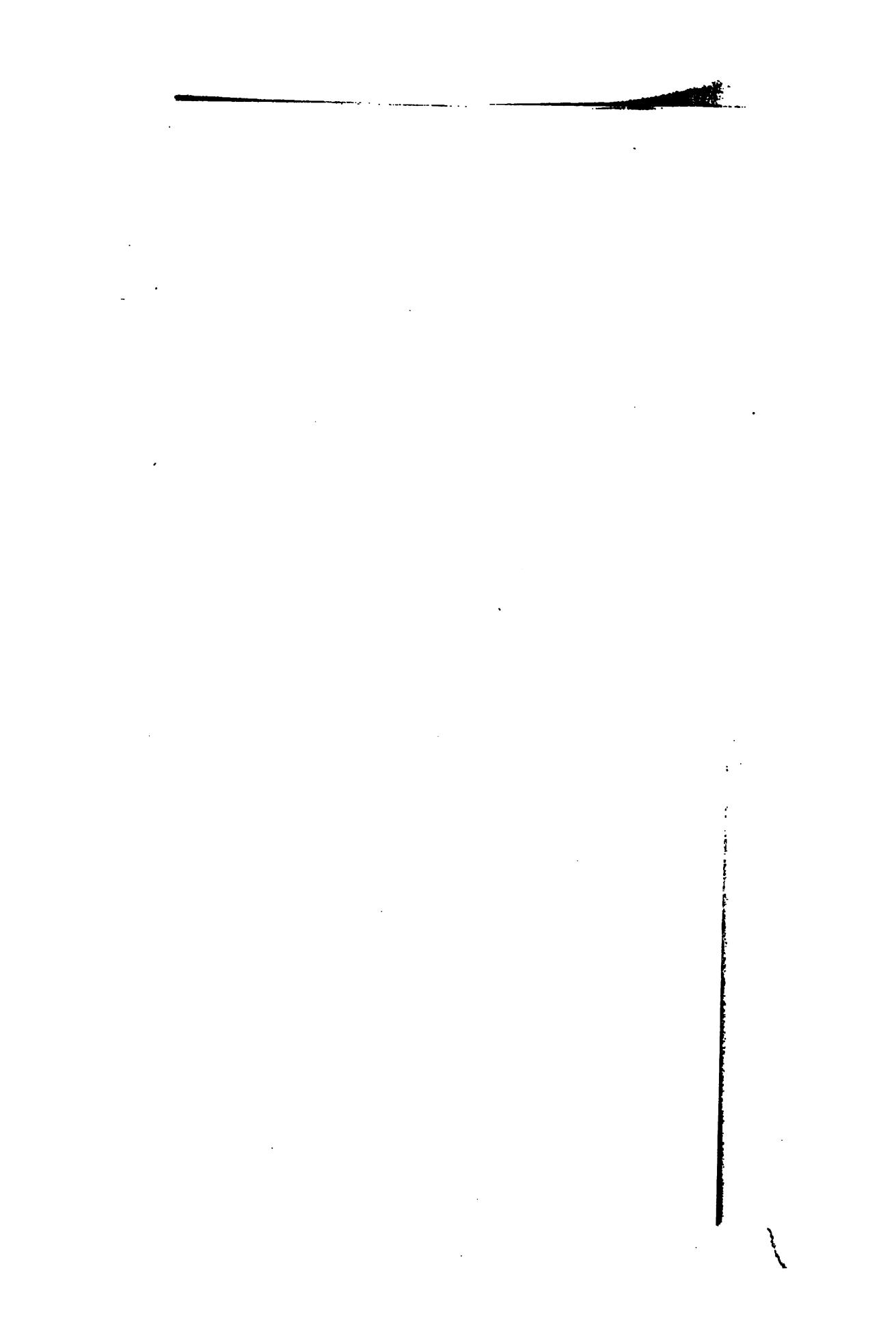
The *Morning Chronicle* of yesterday contains a statement relative to the fatal duel introduced in the following manner:

"The gentleman who accompanied Colonel Burr to the field in the late unfortunate contest comes forward reluctantly with a statement on the subject, at a moment when any publication of the kind may expose his principal to judicial embarrassment, perhaps to very serious hazard."

"At 9 o'clock on Monday, the 25th inst., I called on General Hamilton, at his house in Cedar street, to present the letter (No. 4, already alluded to), and with instructions for a verbal communication, of which the following notes (No. 7), handed me by Mr. Burr, were to be the basis. * * * The substance of which, though in terms as much softened as my instructions would permit, was accordingly communicated to General Hamilton." (No. 7.)

"Aaron Burr, far from conceiving that rivalry authorized a latitude not otherwise justifiable, always feels greater delicacy in such cases, and would think it meanness to speak of a rival but in terms of respect; to do





justice to his merits; to be silent of his foibles. Such has invariably been his conduct towards Jay, Adams and Hamilton; the only three who can be supposed to have stood in that relation to him.

"That he has too much reason to believe that in regard to Mr. Hamilton there has been no reciprocity; for several years his name has been lent to the support of base slanders. He has never had the generosity, the magnanimity, or the candor to contradict or disavow. Burr forbears to particularize, as it could only tend to produce new irritations; but having made great sacrifices for the sake of harmony, having exercised forbearance until it approached to humiliation, he has seen no effect produced by such conduct, but a repetition of injury. He is obliged to conclude that there is on the part of Mr. Hamilton a settled and implacable malevolence; that he will never cease in his conduct toward Mr. Burr to violate those courtesies of life, and that hence he has no alternative but to announce these things to the world which, consistently with Mr. Burr's ideas of propriety, can be done in no way but that which he has adopted. He is incapable of revenge, still less is he capable of imitating the conduct of Mr. Hamilton, by committing secret depredations on his fame and character; but these things must have an end."

[Note 5.]

DEATH PLACE OF GENERAL HAMILTON.

Gay's Popular History United States, Vol. 4, Page 149.

"There is a prevalent error in regard to the house in which Hamilton died, which is worth correcting if only to show how little tradition is to be trusted.

The duel between Hamilton and Burr was fought at Weehawken, in New Jersey, on the morning of July 11, 1804; Hamilton, mortally wounded, was immediately taken back to New York, the boat landing at what is now the foot of Gansevoort street, and he was carried to the nearest house, that of his friend, William Bayard, Esq.

The house stood between the present Greenwich and Washington streets, about the centre of what is now Horatio street.

The common belief is that the house now standing at No. 82 Jane street is the Bayard house where Hamilton died, but that house stood a block further north, on Horatio street, as we have just explained. The Jane street house (No. 82) was a country seat, known at that time as the Ludlow house. The Bayard and Ludlow estates join on the line of Jane street; the former occupying the block north, the latter to the south of that street.

When, about 50 years ago, the land of that neighborhood was filled in from about the line of Washington street to the present bank of the river, and streets opened and graded, the Ludlow house was turned around and placed on the south side of Jane street (82) and the Bayard house demolished.

The late Hon. Henry Meigs, of New York, occupied both those houses alternately for many years. His children grew up in them, and from two of his sons, Henry and Charles, these facts are obtained. One of these gentlemen has preserved a water-color drawing by his father of the Ludlow house, while his family occupied it, and of its identity with the house 82 Jane street there can be no question."

Historical Magazine, 1866, Vol. 10, Page 5, of Supp.

"It is not so well known where Hamilton spent the night before the duel — how he reached Weehawken — whether he was taken after his fall — or where he died.

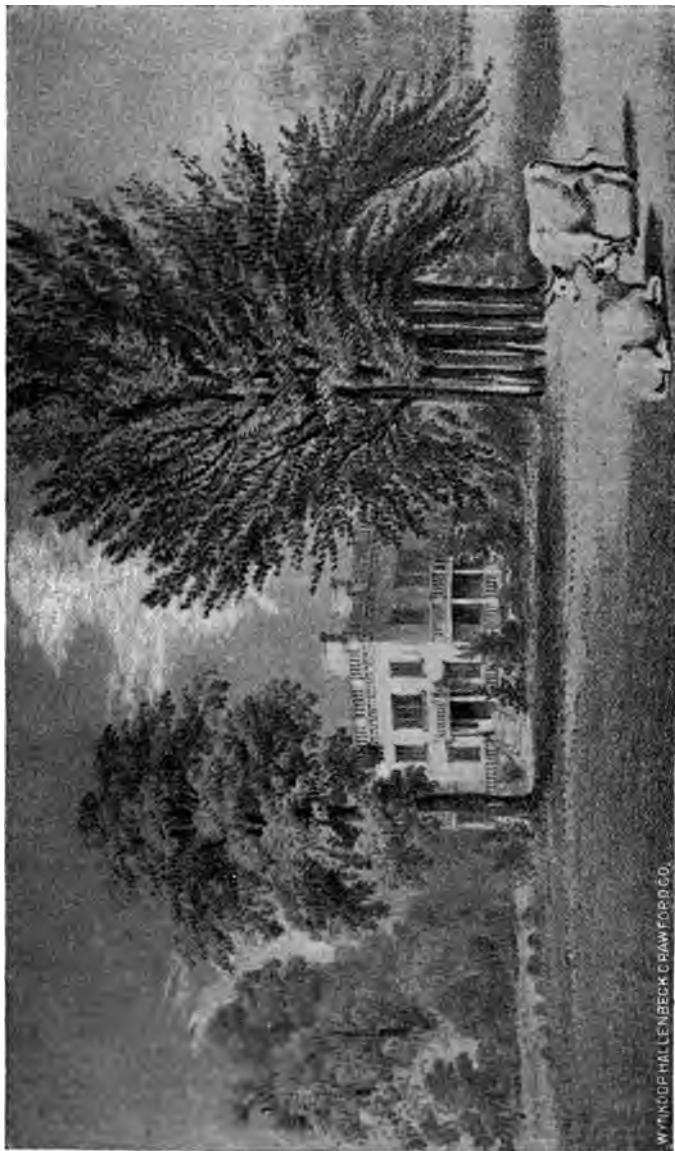
He spent the night at home and died at Mr. Bayard's, in Greenwich, but where was that home and where was Mr. Bayard's?

His office at that time, July 11, 1804, was at No. 12 Garden street, now Exchange place (opposite the southeast corner of the New York custom-house), and his city residence was at No. 54 Cedar street (which, from appearances, is still standing and occupied by a wholesale drug firm on the south side of the street about midway between William and Nassau). His country seat, called The Grange, was situated some nine miles above the city (having been built by him some two years before his death).

It is said on competent authority that the General was at his office throughout the day preceding the duel, and that his intercourse with his clerks was marked by no peculiarity of manner. It is just as evident to us that he spent the last night, before the duel, at The Grange with a portion, at least, of his family, if not with every member of it.

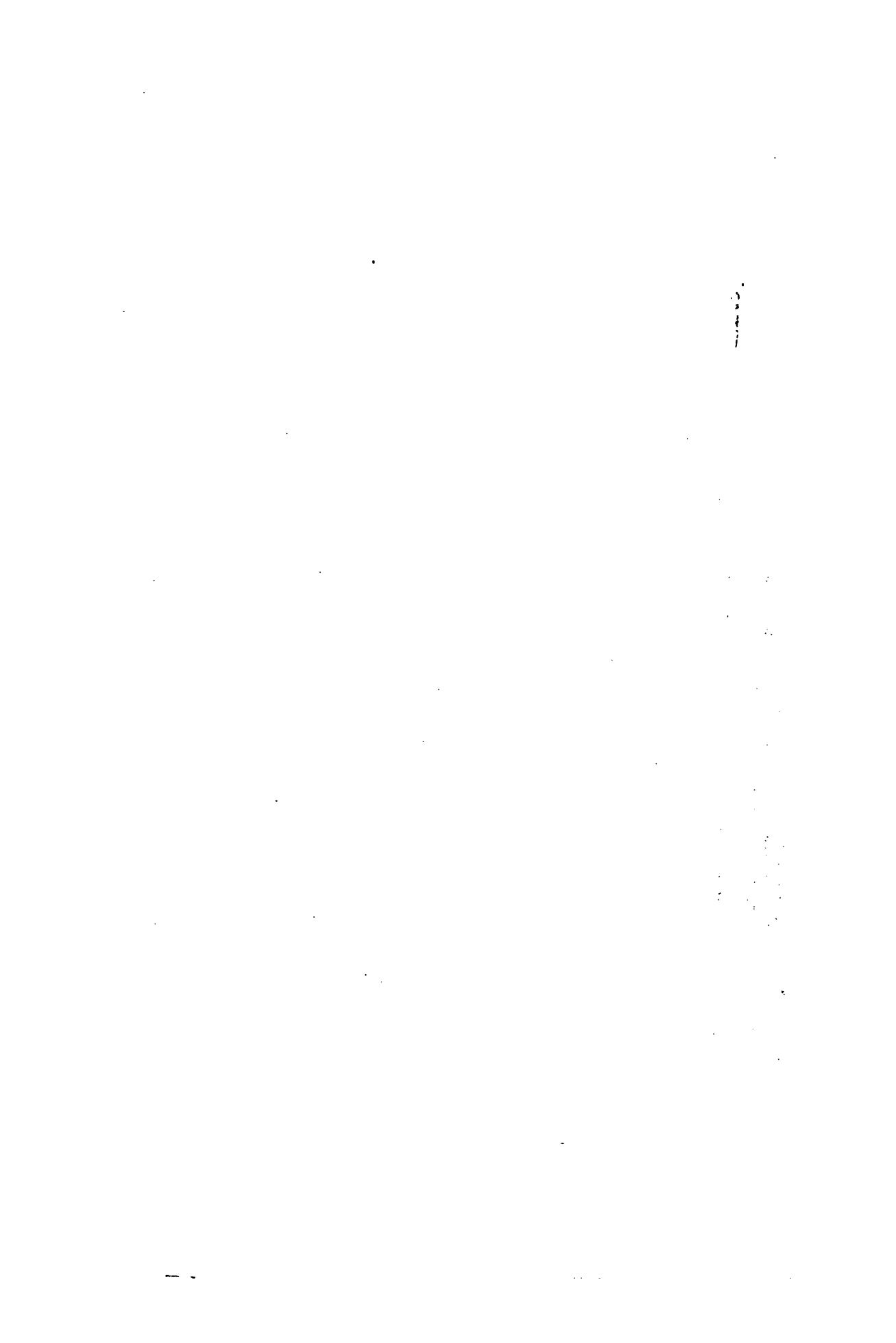
John C. Hamilton, his son and biographer, states that his father's last night prior to the duel was spent at his city house, 54 Cedar street, evidently in the absence of his wife; that he pleasantly invited one of his little sons to sleep with him; that he heard the child (presumably John C. Hamilton) himself, repeat the Lord's prayer, which his mother had taught him, etc. But, for reasons satisfactory to ourself, we prefer to believe that the narration of John C. Hamilton in these particulars is entirely incorrect; that the city house was then closed for the summer, and that his children, if not his wife, were at The Grange, and that he spent his last night at that place; and that he called on his way at the doctor's (David Hosack) country seat at Bloomingdale; he drove thence to the city, in the morning, on his errand of honor.

Of this last we have the evidence of Dr. Hosack, the attending surgeon: General Hamilton drove to the wharf at the foot of the Great Kiln road, now Gansevoort street, in company with his second, Judge Nathaniel Pendleton, and the surgeon, who had been mutually agreed on, Dr. David Hosack. Leaving the carriage, with orders to await their return, the party took a boat from this point and were rowed to Weehawken, where they arrived a little before 7 in the morning. The Vice-President of the United States, with his second, Wm. P. Van Ness, Esq., agreeable to the terms agreed on, was already on the ground, and both were busily engaged



THE GRANGE AND THIRTEEN TREES.

W. H. DODD & CO. HALL & CO. CRAWFORD CO.



with their coats off in clearing away the bushes, limbs of trees, etc., "so as to make a fair opening" for the purposes of the meeting. Salutations were exchanged as required by the Code, and details arranged. The choice of position and word (to fire) fell to Hamilton's second. Hamilton fell.

The dying man "to all appearances lifeless," after a brief examination of his wound was borne from the field in the arms of Pendleton and Hosack, and as they approached the river, the oarsmen assisted them. He was laid on the bottom of the boat, "apparently dead," and it was immediately pushed off, heading for the little wharf where the carriage had been left an hour before. While on the river, however, either from the effects of the surgeon's treatment, or from the fresh air from the water, he rallied sufficiently to speak and give directions for the transmission of the intelligence to his family; and he appeared to have even harbored a hope that the end would be favorable.

The wharf toward which the boat was heading was at the foot of Gansevoort street (Great Kiln Road.) This was an ordinary country road affording a communication with the neighboring city by way of Greenwich Lane (now straightened and called Greenwich avenue), and by way of Sandy Lane, (which, after receiving Greenwich Lane near the corner of Sixth avenue and Eleventh street entered Broadway near where Waverly Place now is).

On the southerly side of the Great Kiln Road, extending from the river to Greenwich Road was the country place of Mr. William Bayard, a friend of General Hamilton, and on the present line of Horatio street. A little below the center of the block between Greenwich and Washington streets, stood the fine old mansion which was his residence. It was of wood, with a hall extending from front to rear in its center, and its fine position overlooking the river rendered it a conspicuous object in that vicinity.

When General Hamilton and party left the wharf a servant of Mr. Bayard had seen them and told his master of the circumstances, and the latter, probably acquainted with the causes that had led to the meeting, "too well conjectured the fatal errand and foreboded the dreadful result." He evidently watched for their return, and as the boat neared the wharf where he was, perceiving that only Judge Pendleton and the surgeon stood up in the stern sheets, "he clasped his hands in the most violent apprehension." A cot was brought from the mansion and the wounded man removed to "the right hand front room," where Thursday the 12th at 2 o'clock, he died.

The body was subsequently removed to the house of his brother-in-law, John B. Church, No. 25 Robinson street, now Park Place, where on Saturday the 14th, it was taken to Trinity Churchyard and buried with military and civic honors.

On June 14, 1866, in company with our venerable friend, John Groshon, Esq., we visited the site of the ancient Bayard estate at the foot of Great Kiln Road, and in the midst of the busy scenes of that familiar neighbor-

hood — a part of the city in which many years of our boyhood and early manhood were spent — he pointed out to us the well-known old frame dwelling, No. 82 Jane street, as the ancient residence of William Bayard, and the death place of Alexander Hamilton. We knew the old house when a lad; it is in good order, and notwithstanding the disappearance of the greenhouse which formerly flanked it on the east, we could not fail to recognize the old landmark as one of the most interesting edifices, historically considered in the United States.

Morrisiana, N. Y., June 15, 1866.

H. B. D."

Note.—H. B. D. was Henry B. Davidson, editor of the Historical Magazine.

[Note 6.]

THE DUELING GROUND.

Extract from the Same Magazine, Vol. 10, Supp., Page 45, Being Recollection of J. R. S., of a Visit to the Weehawken Duelling Ground.

After referring to the foregoing article, the writer states:

"On July 4, 1830, a small party of pleasure seekers from New York visited the justly celebrated spot. Rumor had it that many such meetings "paired combats" had taken place on the same spot, three of which were known to have been fatal, viz., Hamilton (father and son), and one Bird, having been killed there.

The son, Philip Hamilton, was killed by George Eacker, an attorney, in 1802. George Eacker subsequently died of consumption in 1804, and a stone marks his grave in the lower end of the ground on the Vesey street side of St. Paul's church. Eacker had delivered a Fourth of July oration, in which he criticised Alexander Hamilton, etc. Subsequently he attended a theater, occupying a box in company with Miss Livingston; in the adjoining box sat Philip Hamilton, then 19 years of age, and his companion, a Mr. Price, and observing Eacker in the adjacent box they both indulged in comments on Eacker's oration, intended for the ear of Miss Livingston. Eacker called them out into the lobby of the theater, and so insulted both of them as to necessitate a challenge on their part, resulting in a duel on November 23d. The duel with Price was first fought and four rounds exchanged without injury to either party. Young Hamilton's second endeavored to avoid the necessity of the duel with his principal and spoke of his youth and other extenuating circumstances, but without effect, Eacker adding further insult which rendered the duel absolutely unavoidable. Young Hamilton had, like his father, determined to reserve his first fire, and, like his father, was shot down in the first round and died 20 hours later, on the following day, and it is said that his father when informed of the meeting, without knowing its sad result, in hurrying to a physician, fell in a faint on the way.

Our approach to the spot was down a somewhat steep, rough and woody declivity upon the Weehawken shore. From the limited line spot where the duelists had met there seemed almost a real flight of steps to the water's edge of the rocky shore where they effected a landing. A portion of a granite boulder, opposite which, tradition said, Hamilton stood, and upon which he reclined to break his fall, yet remained, rising perhaps a foot above the ground. It had originally risen some two feet above the surface, but it had been broken off and carried away by visitors anterior to our visit. (The editor's note suggests that this was probably the monument erected by the St. Andrew's Society to the memory of General Hamilton on the spot where he fell). I think 10 paces had separated Hamilton and Burr, and anxious to know where the latter stood, I paced from the rock southward, and, as the leveled space was so limited, there being only a small belt of even ground, one could well imagine himself in the very tracks of the duelists; only two or three paces further would have placed Burr on the ground a foot or two lower than that upon which his antagonist had stood.

Hamilton and Burr, as the late Isaac Hale Tiffany, Esq., who read law with Burr, assured the writer, had previously been personal friends, whom he had several times seen walking arm in arm, and who were about the one size; they were rather under than above the medium stature of man.

One reason why I desired to know Burr's position was the fact that it had always been stated that Hamilton did not return the shot of his antagonist, but discharged his pistol in the air, the ball striking the limb of a tree far above his head. I remember seeing beside the supposed position of Burr, several feet of a tree stump, perhaps six or eight inches through, but there was then no living tree near, whose branches could have covered his position.

J. R. S."

Fort Plain, N. Y., August 13, 1866.

[Note.—J. R. S. was J. R. Simms, the well-known historian of Schoharie county. His statement regarding the date of the death of Hamilton's son Philip is contradicted by Mrs. Lamb, who states that he was killed, or died, in 1801—not 1802. The date was November 24, 1801.]

[Note.—The stone or boulder alluded to has been removed and placed on the Palisades immediately above the spot where the duel was fought. The duelling ground was for some time marked by a wooden cross, but when the railway was built the boulder was removed and there is now no trace of it left. However, on a recent visit to the spot, the writer had the good fortune to meet an old resident, Mr. William Engel, of Union Hill, N. J., who was familiar with the old landmarks, and was shown by him the historic ground, and certain marks or lines in the rocks above by which the spot could always be found. J. E. G.]

Evening Post, July 18, 1804.

"The duel was fought a little past 7 o'clock on the morning of July 11, 1804; that the boats were nearly or quite an hour in crossing the river, so that Mr. Burr could not possibly have reached home till 8.30. Burr, two hours after the duel, wrote a note to Mr. Prime, making a business appointment with him between 8 and 9 o'clock. Mr. Prime went; but heard nothing of the dreadful business of the morning. He continued with Mr. Burr for a quarter of an hour; during which time he conducted himself towards Mr. Prime with all that ease and affability so peculiar to him — no distress, no regret, no embarrassment, to such an extent that when he was afterwards informed that Burr had shot Hamilton that morning, he stated that it could not be possible, as he had just left Colonel Burr unusually cheerful, etc."

Mrs. Lamb's City of New York, Vol. 2, Pages 492 and 493.

The description of the duel, as narrated by Mrs. Lamb, is a very good one, and mentions some facts which I have not seen before. She states that, "Dr. Hosack and Matthew L. Davis, Burr's biographer, were present and approached Hamilton after he fell," and that "Burr was rowed swiftly across the river to Richmond Hill (situated about the junction of Varick and Charlton streets, at one time the headquarters of General Washington, subsequently turned into a theatre and circus), where he took a bath, and immediately thereafter entertained a gentleman who called upon him; his conversation indicating a state of feeling inconsistent with the experience through which he had just passed; that this friend, returning to the city in the early morning hours, and hearing the reports of the duel, had denied the report, stating that he had just left Colonel Burr, with whom he had breakfasted, and that the reports could not possibly be true.

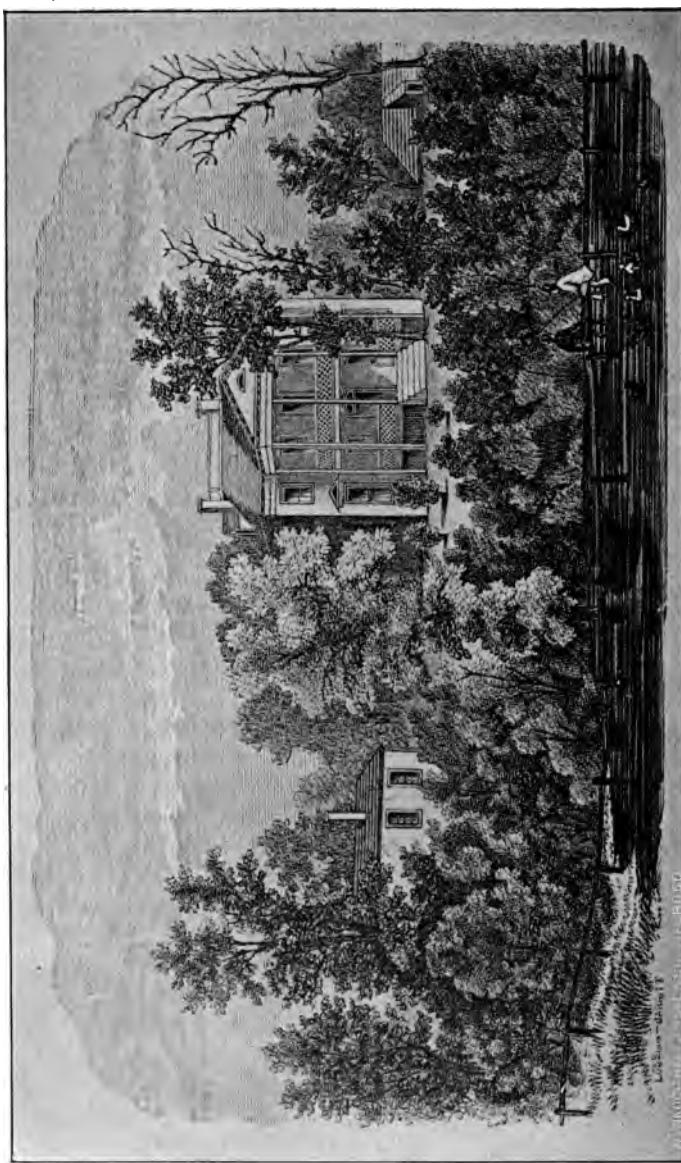
[Note.— This may refer to a Mr. Prime; see ante, extract from *Evening Post* of Wednesday, July 18, 1804.]

The coroner's investigation, lasting twelve days, resulted in a verdict "that Aaron Burr, Vice-President of the United States, was guilty of the murder of Alexander Hamilton, and that Wm. P. Van Ness and Nathaniel Pendleton were accessories." (Davis was locked up for contempt in refusing to answer questions on the examination.)

"That on July 21st, Burr, who had remained in Richmond Hill since the duel, not daring to show himself in public, departed in a barge at night through New Jersey to Philadelphia, and thence to South Carolina, where his daughter, Theodosia, resided. That while passing through Philadelphia he renewed his attentions to a beautiful belle of that city, and only left when he learned that both the States of New York and New Jersey had procured orders for his arrest, and had made requisitions upon the Governor of Pennsylvania for the delivery of his person."

"Richmond Hill was subsequently sold for debt and purchased by John Jacob Astor, for \$25,000, which was divided among the creditors of Aaron Burr."

* * * * *



RICHMOND HILL.



Mrs. Lamb, in the same volume, at page 496, gives the following:

"Alexander Hamilton, born January 11, 1757; died, July 12, 1804; married Elizabeth Schuyler, December 14, 1780.

Philip, born, January 22, 1782. Died, November 24, 1801.

Angelica, born, September 25, 1784.

Upon the death of her favorite brother, Philip, she was so shocked that when she learned of the death of her father she completely lost her reason, and became a charge upon her mother, with whom she lived until her subsequent death.

Alexander, born May 16, 1786.

James Alexander, born April 14, 1788.

John Church, born August 22, 1794.

William Stephen, born August 4, 1797.

Eliza, born November 20, 1799; Mrs. St. Aug. Holly.

Philip 2d, born June 7, 1802; married Miss McLane, of Poughkeepsie; had two sons, of which Dr. Allan McLane Hamilton now survives."

[Note 7.]

STATEMENT OF THE SECONDS.

The following statement was agreed upon and corrected by the seconds of the parties on Monday succeeding the duel:

"Colonel Burr arrived first on the ground, as had been previously agreed; when General Hamilton arrived the parties exchanged salutations, and the seconds proceeded to make their arrangements. They measured the distance, ten full paces, and cast lots for the choice of positions, as also to determine by whom the word should be given, both of which fell to the second of General Hamilton. They then proceeded to load the pistols in each other's presence, after which the parties took their stations. The gentleman who was to give the word, then explained to the parties the rules which were to govern them in firing, which were as follows: 'The parties being placed at their stations, the second who gives the word shall ask them whether they are ready, being answered in the affirmative, he shall say 'Present' after this the parties shall present and fire when they please. If one fires before the other, the opposite second shall say, 'one, two, three, fire,' and he shall then fire or lose his fire.' He then asked if they were prepared; being answered in the affirmative, he gave the word 'Present,' as had been agreed on, and both parties presented and fired in succession—the intervening time is not expressed, as the seconds do not precisely agree on that point. The fire of Colonel Burr took effect, and General Hamilton almost instantly fell. Colonel Burr then advanced toward General Hamilton, with a manner and gesture that appeared to General Hamilton's friend to be expressive of regret, but without speaking, turned about and withdrew, being urged

from the field by his friend, as has been subsequently stated, with a view to prevent his being recognized by the surgeon and bargemen, who were then approaching. No further communication took place between the principals, and the barge that carried Colonel Burr immediately returned to the city. We conceive it proper to add that the conduct of the parties in this interview was perfectly proper, as suited the occasion."

[Note 8.]

MR. COLEMAN'S ACCOUNT, WITH STATEMENT OF ATTENDING PHYSICIAN.

" It was nearly 7 in the morning when the boat which carried General Hamilton, his friend, Mr. Pendleton, and the surgeon mutually agreed on, Dr. Hosack, reached that part of the Jersey shore called the Weahawk. There they found Mr. Burr and his friend, Mr. Van Ness, who, as I am told, had been employed since their arrival, with coats off, in clearing away the bushes, limbs of trees, etc., so as to make a fair opening. The parties in a few moments were at their allotted situations; when Mr. Pendleton gave the word, Mr. Burr raised his arm slowly, deliberately took his aim, and fired. His ball entered General Hamilton's right side; as soon as the bullet struck him, he raised himself involuntarily on his toes, turned a little to the left (at which moment his pistol went off), and fell upon his face. Mr. Pendleton immediately called out for Dr. Hosack, who, in running to the spot, had to pass Mr. Van Ness and Colonel Burr; but Van Ness had the cool precaution to cover his principal with an umbrella, so that Dr. Hosack should not be able to swear that he saw him on the field. What passed after this the reader will have in the following letter from Dr. Hosack himself, in answer to my note:

" August 17, 1804.

" Dear Sir.—To comply with your request is a painful task; but I will repress my feelings while I endeavour to furnish you with an enumeration of such particulars relative to the melancholy end of our beloved friend Hamilton as dwell most forcibly on my recollection.

" When called to him, upon his receiving the fatal wound, I found him half sitting on the ground, supported in the arms of Mr. Pendleton. His countenance of death I shall never forget. He had at that instant just strength to say, "This is a mortal wound, Doctor;" when he sunk away, and became to all appearance lifeless. I immediately stripped up his clothes, and soon, alas! ascertained that the direction of the ball must have been through some vital part. (*For the satisfaction of some of General Hamilton's friends, I examined his body after death, in presence of Dr. Post and two other gentlemen. I discovered that the ball struck the second or third false rib, and fractured it about in the middle; it then

passed through the liver and diaphragm, and, as nearly as we could ascertain without a minute examination, lodged in the first or second lumbar vertebra. The vertebra in which it was lodged was considerably splintered, so that the spiculae were distinctly perceptible to the finger. About a pint of clotted blood was found in the cavity of the belly, which had probably been effused from the divided vessels of the liver.) His pulses were not to be felt; his respiration was entirely suspended; and upon laying my hand on his heart, and perceiving no motion there, I considered him as irrecoverably gone. I, however, observed to Mr. Pendleton that the only chance for his reviving was immediately to get him upon the water. We therefore lifted him up, and carried him out of the wood, to the margin of the bank, where the bargemen aided us in conveying him into the boat, which immediately put off. During all this time I could not discover the least symptom of returning life. I now rubbed his face, lips and temples with spirits of hartshorne, applied it to his neck and breast, and to the wrists and palms of his hands, and endeavored to pour some into his mouth. When we had got, as I should judge, about fifty yards from the shore, some imperfect efforts to breathe were for the first time manifest; in a few minutes he sighed, and became sensible to the impression of the hartshorne, or the fresh air of the water. He breathed; his eyes, hardly opened, wandered, without fixing upon any object; to our great joy he at length spoke. 'My vision is indistinct,' were his first words. His pulse became more perceptible; his respiration more regular; his sight returned. I then examined the wound, to know if there was any dangerous discharge of blood; upon slightly pressing his side it gave him pain; on which I desisted. Soon after recovering his sight, he happened to cast his eye upon the case of pistols, and observing the one that he had had in his hand lying on the outside, he said: 'Take care of that pistol; it is undischarged, and still cocked; it may go off and do harm; Pendleton knows (attempting to turn his head towards him) that I did not intend to fire at him.' 'Yes,' said Mr. Pendleton, understanding his wish, 'I have already made Dr. Hosack acquainted with your determination as to that.' He then closed his eyes and remained calm, without any disposition to speak; nor did he say much afterwards, excepting in reply to my questions as to his feelings. He asked me, once or twice, how I found his pulse; and he informed me that his lower extremities had lost all feeling; manifesting to me that he entertained no hopes that he should long survive. I changed the posture of his limbs, but to no purpose; they had totally lost their sensibility. Perceiving that we approached the shore, he said, 'Let Mrs. Hamilton be immediately sent for — let the event be gradually broken to her; but give her hopes.' Looking up we saw his friend, Mr. Bayard, standing on the wharf in great agitation. He had been told by his servant that General Hamilton, Mr. Pendleton and myself had crossed the river in a boat together, and too well he conjectured the fatal errand, and foreboded the dreadful result. Perceiving, as we came

nearer, that Mr. Pendleton and myself only sat up in the stern sheets, he clasped his hands together in the most violent apprehension; but when I called to him to have a cot prepared, and he at the same moment saw his poor friend lying in the bottom of the boat, he threw up his eyes and burst into a flood of tears and lamentation. Hamilton alone appeared tranquil and composed. We then conveyed him as tenderly as possible up to the house. The distresses of this amiable family were such that till the first shock was abated, they were scarcely able to summon fortitude enough to yield sufficient assistance to their dying friend.

"Upon our reaching the house he became more languid, occasioned probably by the agitation of his removal from the boat. I gave him a little weak wine and water. When he recovered his feelings, he complained of pain in his back; we immediately undressed him, laid him in bed, and darkened the room. I then gave him a large anodyne, which I frequently repeated. During the first day he took upwards of an ounce of laudanum; and tepid anodyne fomentations were also applied to those parts nearest the seat of his pain—yet were his sufferings, during the whole of the day, almost intolerable. (*As his habit was delicate and had been rendered more feeble by ill health, particularly by a disorder of the stomach and bowels, I carefully avoided all those remedies which are usually indicated on such occasions.) I had not the shadow of a hope of his recovery, and Dr. Post, whom I requested might be sent for immediately on our reaching Mr. Bayard's house, united with me in this opinion. General Rey, the French Consul, also had the goodness to invite the surgeons of the French frigates in our harbour, as they had had much experience in gunshot wounds, to render their assistance. They immediately came; but to prevent his being disturbed I stated to them his situation, described the nature of his wound and the direction of the ball, with all the symptoms that could enable them to form an opinion as to the event. One of the gentlemen then accompanied me to the bedside. The result was a confirmation of the opinion that had already been expressed by Dr. Post and myself.

"During the night he had some imperfect sleep; but the succeeding morning his symptoms were aggravated, attended, however, with a diminution of pain. His mind retained all its usual strength and composure. The great source of his anxiety seemed to be in his sympathy with his half-distracted wife and children. He spoke to me frequently of them—'My beloved wife and children,' were always his expressions. But his fortitude triumphed over his situation, dreadful as it was; once, indeed, at the sight of his children brought to the bedside together, seven in number, his utterance forsook him, he opened his eyes, gave them one look, and closed them again, till they were taken away. As a proof of his extraordinary composure of mind, let me add, that he alone could calm the frantic grief of their mother. 'Remember, my Eliza, you are a Christian,' were the expressions with which he frequently, with a firm

voice, but in a pathetic and impressive manner, addressed her. His words, and the tone in which they were uttered, will never be effaced from my memory. At about 2 o'clock, as the public well knows, he expired.

"Incorrupta fides—nudaque veritas
Quando ullum invenient parem?
Multis ille quidem fribilis occidit."

"I am, Sir, your friend and humble serv't,

" DAVID HOSACK."

"Wm. Coleman, Esq."

[Note 9.]

THE MEMORABLE DISCOURSE AGAINST DUELLING.

BY ELIPHALET NOTT, A. M.

Delivered in the North Dutch Church, Albany, July 29, 1804.

Text: "How are the Mighty Fallen!" (II Samuel, 1, 19.)

"The occasion explains the choice of my subject. A subject on which I enter in obedience to your request. You have assembled to express your elegiac sorrows, and sad and solemn weeds cover you.

"Before such an audience, and on such an occasion, I enter on the duty assigned me with trembling. Do not mistake my meaning. I tremble indeed—not, however, through fear of failing to merit your applause; for what have I to do with that when addressing the dying, and treading on the ashes of the dead. Not through fear of failing, justly, to portray the character of that great man who is at once the theme of my encomium and regret. He needs not eulogy. His work is finished, and death has removed him beyond my censure, and I would fondly hope, through grace, above my praise.

"You will ask, then, why I tremble? I tremble to think that I am called to attack from this place a crime, the very idea of which almost freezes one with horror—a crime, too, which exists among the polite and polished orders of society, and which is accompanied with every aggravation; committed with cool deliberation—and openly in the face of day!

"But I have a duty to perform. And difficult and awful as that duty is, I will not shrink from it.

"Would to God my talents were adequate to the occasion. But such as they are, I devoutly proffer them to unfold the nature and counteract the influence of that barbarous custom, which, like a resistless torrent, is undermining the foundations of civil government—breaking down the barriers of social happiness, and sweeping away virtue, talents, and domestic felicity, in its desolating course.

"Another and an illustrious character—a father—a general—a statesman—the very man who stood on an eminence and without a rival, among

sages and heroes, the future hope of his country in danger—this man, yielding to the influence of a custom which deserves our eternal reprobation, has been brought to an untimely end.

“That the deaths of great and useful men should be particularly noticed is equally the dictate of reason and revelation. The tears of Israel flowed at the decease of good Josiah, and to his memory the funeral women chanted the solemn dirge.

“But neither examples nor arguments are necessary to wake the sympathies of a grateful people on such occasions. The death of public benefactors surcharges the heart, and it spontaneously disburdens itself by a flow of sorrows.

“Such was the death of Washington, to embalm whose memory, and perpetuate whose deathless fame, we lent our feeble, but unnecessary services. Such, also, and more peculiarly so, has been the death of Hamilton.

“The tidings of the former moved us—mournfully moved us—and we wept. The account of the latter chilled our hopes, and curdled our blood. The former died in a good old age; the latter was cut off in the midst of his usefulness. The former was a customary providence; we saw in it, if I may speak so, the finger of God, and rested in His sovereignty. The latter is not attended with this soothing circumstance.

“The fall of Hamilton owes its existence to mad deliberation, and is marked by violence. The time, the place, the circumstances, are arranged with barbarous coolness. The instrument of death is levelled in daylight, and with well-directed skill pointed at his heart. Alas! the event has proven that it was but too well directed. Wounded, mortally wounded, on the very spot which still smoked with the blood of a favourite son, into the arms of his indiscreet and cruel friend the father fell.

“Ah! had he fallen in the course of nature; or jeopardizing his life in defence of his country, had he fallen—but he did not. He fell in single combat—pardon my mistake, he did not fall in single combat. His noble nature refused to endanger the life of his antagonist. But he exposed his own life. This was his crime; and the sacredness of my office forbids that I should hesitate explicitly to declare it so.

“He did not hesitate to declare it so himself. ‘My religious and moral principles are strongly opposed to duelling.’ These are his words, before he ventured to the field of death. ‘I view the late transaction with sorrow and contrition.’ These are his words after his return.

“Humiliating end of illustrious greatness! How are the mighty fallen! And shall the mighty thus fall? Thus shall the noblest lives be sacrificed and the richest blood be spilt! Tell it not in Gath; publish it not in the streets of Askelon!

“Think not that the fatal issue of the late inhuman interview was fortuitous. No; the Hand that guides unseen the arrow of the archer, steadied and directed the arm of the duellist. And why did it thus direct it? As a solemn memento—as a loud and awful warning to a community

where justice has slumbered—and slumbered—and slumbered—while the wife has been robbed of her partner, the mother of her hopes, and life after life rashly, and with an air of triumph, sported away.

“And was there, O my God! no other sacrifice valuable enough—would the cry of no other blood reach the place of retribution and wake justice, dozing over her awful seat?

“But though justice should still slumber and retribution be delayed, we who are the ministers of that God who will judge the judges of the world, and whose malediction rests on him who does his work unfaithfully, we will not keep silence.

“I feel, my brethren, how incongruous my subject is with the place I occupy.

“It is humiliating; it is distressing in a Christian country, and in churches consecrated to the religion of Jesus, to be obliged to attack a crime which outstrips barbarism, and would even sink the character of a generous savage. But humiliating as it is, it is necessary.

“And must we, then, even for a moment, forget the elevation on which grace hath placed us, and the light which the gospel sheds around us? Must we place ourselves back in the midst of barbarism? And instead of hearers softened to forgiveness by the love of Jesus; filled with noble sentiments towards our enemies, and waiting for occasions, after the example of Divinity, to do them good—instead of such hearers, must we suppose ourselves addressing hearts petrified to goodness, incapable of mercy, and boiling with revenge? Must we, O my God! instead of exhorting those who hear us, to go on unto perfection, adding to virtue charity, and to charity brotherly kindness—must we, as if surrounded by an auditory just emerging out of darkness and still cruel and ferocious, reason to convince them that revenge is improper, and that to commit deliberate murder, is sin?

“Yes, we must do this. Repeated violations of the law, and the sanctuary, which the guilty find in public sentiment, prove that it is necessary.

“Withdraw, therefore, for a moment, ye celestial spirits—ye holy angels accustomed to hover round these altars, and listen to those strains of grace which heretofore have filled this House of God. Other subjects occupy us. Withdraw, therefore, and leave us—leave us to exhort Christian parents to restrain their vengeance, and at least to keep back their hands from blood—to exhort youth, nurtured in Christian families, not rashly to sport with life, nor lightly to wring the widow's heart with sorrows, and fill the orphan's eye with tears.

“In accomplishing the object which is before me, it will not be expected, as it is not necessary, that I should give a history of duelling. You need not be informed that it originated in a dark and barbarous age. The polished Greek knew nothing of it—the noble Roman was above it. Rome held in equal detestation the man who exposed his life unnecessarily, and him, who refused to expose it when the public good required it. Her

heroes were superior to private contests. They indulged no vengeance except against the enemies of their country. Their swords were not drawn unless her honour was in danger; which honour they defended with their swords not only, but shielded with their bosoms also, and were then prodigal of their blood.

"But though Greece and Rome knew nothing of duelling, it exists. It exists among us; and it exists at once the most rash, the most absurd and guilty practice that ever disgraced a Christian nation.

"Guilty—because it is a violation of the law. What law? The Law of God. "Thou shalt not kill." This prohibition was delivered by God himself, at Sinai, to the Jews. And, that it is of universal and perpetual obligation, is manifest from the nature of the crime prohibited not only, but also from the express declaration of the Christian Lawgiver, who hath recognized its justice, and added to it the sanctions of his own authority.

"'Thou shalt not kill.' Who? Thou, creature. I, the Creator, have given life, and thou shalt not take it away! When and under what circumstances may I not take away life?

"Never, and under no circumstances, without My permission. It is obvious, that no discretion whatever, is here given. The prohibition is addressed to every individual where the Law of God is promulgated, and the terms made use of are express and unequivocal. So that life can not be taken under any pretext, without incurring guilt, unless by a permission sanctioned by the same authority which sanctions the general law prohibiting it.

"From this law it is granted there are exceptions. These exceptions, however, do not result from any sovereignty which one creature has over the existence of another, but from the positive appointment of that eternal Being, whose is the world and the fullness thereof. In whose hand is the soul of every living creature, and the breath of all mankind.

"Even the authority which we claim over the lives of animals is not founded on a natural right, but on a positive grant made by the Deity himself to Noah and his sons. This grant contains our warrant for taking the lives of animals. But if we may not take the lives of animals without permission from God, much less may we the life of man, made in his image.

"In what cases, then, has the Sovereign of life given this permission? In rightful war—by the civil magistrate, and in necessary self-defence. Besides these, I do not hesitate to declare that, in the oracles of God, there are no other.

"He, therefore, who takes life in any other case, under whatever pretext, takes it unwarrantably, is guilty of what the Scriptures call murder, and exposes himself to the malediction of that God who is an avenger of blood, and who hath said, *At the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man. Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.*

"The duellist contravenes the law of God not only, but the law of man, also. To the prohibition of the former have been added the sanctions of the latter. Life taken in a duel, by the common law, is murder. And where this is not the case, the giving and receiving of a challenge only is, by statute, considered a high misdemeanor, for which the principal and his second are declared infamous, and disfranchised for twenty years.

"Under what accumulated circumstances of aggravation does the duellist jeopardize his own life, or take the life of his antagonist?

"I am sensible that in a licentious age, and when laws are made to yield to the vices of those who move in the higher circles, this crime is called by I know not what mild and accommodating name. But before these altars in this house of God, what is it? It is murder—deliberate, aggravated murder.

"If the duellist deny this, let him produce his warrant from the Author of Life, for taking away from His creature the life which had been sovereignly given. If he can not do this, beyond all controversy, he is a murderer, for murder consists in taking away life without the permission, and contrary to the prohibition of Him who gave it.

"Who is it, then, that calls the duellist to the dangerous and deadly combat? Is it God? No; on the contrary He forbids it. Is it, then, his country? No; she also utters her prohibitory voice. Who is it, then? A man of honour. And who is this man of honour? A man, perhaps, whose honour is a name—who prates with polluted lips about the sacredness of character, when his own is stained with crimes, and needs but the single shade of murder to complete the dismal and sickly picture.

"Every transgression of the Divine law implies great guilt, because it is the transgression of infinite authority. But the crime of deliberately and lightly taking life has peculiar aggravations. It is a crime committed against the written law not only, but also against the dictates of reason, the remonstrances of conscience, and every tender and amiable feeling of the heart.

"To the unfortunate sufferer, it is the wanton violation of his most sacred rights. It snatches him from his friends and his comforts; terminates his state of trial, and precipitates him, uncalled for and perhaps unprepared, into the presence of his Judge.

"You will say the duellist feels no malice. Be it so. Malice, indeed, is murder in principle. But there may be murder in reason, and in fact, where there is no malice. Some other unwarrantable passion or principle may lead to the unlawful taking of human life.

"The highwayman, who cuts the throat and rifies the pocket of the passing traveller, feels no malice. And could he, with equal ease and no greater danger of detection, have secured his booty without taking life, he would have stayed his arm over the palpitating bosom of his victim, and let the plundered suppliant pass.

"Would the imputation of cowardice have been inevitable to the duellist, if a challenge had not been given or accepted? The imputation of want had been no less inevitable to the robber, if the money of the passing traveller had not been secured.

"Would the duellist have been willing to have spared the life of his antagonist, if the point of honour could otherwise have been gained? So would the robber, if the point of property could have been. Who can say that the motives of the one are not as urgent as the motives of the other? And the means by which both obtain the object of their wishes are the same.

"Thus, according to the dictates of reason, as well as the law of God, the highwayman and the duellist stand on ground equally untenable, and support their guilty havoc of the human race by arguments equally fallacious.

"Is duelling guilty? So it is.

"Absurd—it is absurd as a punishment, for it admits of no proportion to crimes; and, besides, virtue and vice, guilt and innocence, are equally exposed by it to death or suffering. As a reparation, it is still more absurd, for it makes the injured liable to a still greater injury. And as the vindication of personal character, it is absurd even beyond madness.

"One man of honour, by some inadvertence, or perhaps with design, injures the sensibilities of another man of honour. In perfect character the injured gentleman resents it. He challenges the offender. The offender accepts the challenge. The time is fixed. The place is agreed upon. The circumstances, with an air of solemn mania, are arranged; and the principals, with their seconds and surgeons, retire under the covert of some solitary hill, or upon the margin of some unfrequented beach, to settle this important question of honour, by stabbing or shooting at each other.

"One or the other, or both the parties, fall in this polite and gentlemanlike contest. And what does this prove? It proves that one or the other, or both of them, as the case may be, are marksmen. But it affords no evidence that either of them possess honour, probity or talents.

"It is true that he who falls in single combat has the honour of being murdered; and he who takes his life, the honour of a murderer. Besides this, I know not of any glory which can redound to the infatuated combatants, except it be what results from having extended the circle of wretched widows, and added to the number of hapless orphans.

"And yet, terminate as it will, this frantic meeting, by a kind of magic influence, entirely varnishes over a defective and smutty character; transforms vice to virtue, cowardice to courage; makes falsehood truth; guilt, innocence. In one word, it gives a new complexion to the whole state of things. The Ethiopian changes his skin, the leopard his spot, and the debauched and treacherous—having shot away the infamy of a sorry life—comes back from the field of perfectibility quite regenerated, and, in the

fullest sense, an honourable man. He is now fit for the company of gentlemen. He is admitted to that company, and should he again, by acts of villainess, stain this purity of character, so nobly acquired, and should any one have the affrontry to say he has done so, again he stands ready to vindicate his honour, and by another act of homicide, to wipe away the stain which has been attached to it.

"I might illustrate this article by example. I might produce instances of this mysterious transformation of character, in the sublime circles of moral refinement, furnished by the higher orders of the fashionable world, which the mere firing of pistols has produced. But the occasion is too awful for irony.

"Absurd as duelling is, were it absurd only, though we might smile at the weakness and pity the folly of its abettors, there would be no occasion for seriously attacking them. But to what has been said, I add, that duelling is rash and presumptuous.

"Life is the gift of God, and it was never bestowed to be sported with. To each the Sovereign of the universe has marked out a sphere to move in, and assigned a part to act. This part respects ourselves not only, but others also. Each lives for the benefit of all.

"As in the system of nature the sun shines, not to display its own brightness and answer its own convenience, but to warm, enlighten and bless the world; so in the system of animated beings, there is a dependence, a correspondence, and a relation, through an infinitely extended, dying and reviving universe—in which no man liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself. Friend is related to friend; the father to his family, the individual to community. To every member of which, having fixed his station and assigned his duty, the God of nature says, 'Keep this trust—defend this post.' For whom? For thy friends—thy family—thy country. And having received such a charge, and for such a purpose, to desert it is rashness and temerity.

Since the opinions of men are as they are, do you ask, how you shall avoid the imputation of cowardice, if you do not fight when you are injured? Ask your family how you will avoid the imputation of cruelty—ask your conscience how you will avoid the imputation of guilt—ask God how you will avoid his malediction, if you do. These are previous questions. Let these first be answered, and it will be easy to reply to any which may follow them.

"If you only accept a challenge when you believe in your conscience that duelling is wrong, you act the coward. The dastardly fear of the world governs you. Awed by its menaces, you conceal your sentiments, appear in disguise, and act in guilty conformity to principles not your own, and that, too, in the most solemn moment, and when engaged in an act which exposes you to death.

"But if it be rashness to accept, how passing rashness is it, in a sinner, to give a challenge? Does it become him, whose life is measured

out by crimes, to be extreme to mark, and punctilious to resent, whatever is amiss in others? Must the duellist, who now disdaining to forgive, so imperiously demands satisfaction to the uttermost—must this man himself, trembling at the recollection of his offences, presently appear a suppliant before the mercy seat of God? Imagine this, and the case is not imaginary, and you can not conceive an instance of greater inconsistency, or of more presumptuous arrogance. Wherefore, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath; for vengeance is mine, I will repay it, saith the Lord.

“Do you ask, then, how you shall conduct towards your enemy who hath lightly done you wrong? If he be hungry, feed him; if naked, clothe him; if thirsty, give him drink. Such, had you preferred your question to Jesus Christ, is the answer he had given you. By observing which, you will usually subdue, and always act more honourably than your enemy.

“I feel, my brethren, as a minister of Jesus and a teacher of His Gospel, a noble elevation on this article.

“Compare the conduct of the Christian, acting in conformity to the principles of religion, and of the duellist, acting in conformity to the principles of honour, and let reason say which bears the marks of the most exalted greatness. Compare them, and let reason say which enjoys the most calm serenity of mind in time, and which is likely to receive the plaudit of his Judge in immortality..

“God, from His throne, beholds not a nobler object on his footstool than the man who loves his enemies, pities their errors, and forgives the injuries they do him. This is indeed the very spirit of the Heavens. It is the image of his benignity, whose glory fills them.

“To return to the subject before us—guilty, absurd and rash, as duelling is, it has its advocates. And had it not had its advocates—had not a strange preponderance of opinion been in favour of it, never, O lamentable Hamilton! hadst thou thus fallen, in the midst of thy days, and before thou hadst reached the zenith of thy glory!

“O that I possessed the talent of eulogy, and that I might be permitted to indulge the tenderness of friendship in paying the last tribute to his memory! O that I were capable of placing this great man before you! Could I do this, I should furnish you with an argument, the most practical, the most plain, the most convincing, except that drawn from the mandate of God, that was ever furnished against duelling, that horrid practice, which has in an awful moment robbed the world of such exalted worth.

“But I can not do this—I can only hint at the variety and exuberance of his excellence.

“The man, on whom nature seems originally to have impressed the stamp of greatness—whose genius beamed from the retirement of collegiate life, with a radiance which dazzled, and a loveliness which charmed the eye of sages.

"The hero, called from his sequestered retreat, whose first appearance in the field, though a stripling, conciliated the esteem of Washington, our good old father. Moving by whose side, during all the perils of the revolution, our young chieftain was a contributor to the veteran's glory, the guardian of his person, and the compartner of his toils.

"The conqueror, who, sparing of human blood, when victory favoured, stayed the uplifted arm, and nobly said to the vanquished enemy, 'Live!'

"The statesman, the correctness of whose principles, and the strength of whose mind, are inscribed on the records of Congress, and on the annals of the council chamber; whose genius impressed itself upon the Constitution of his country, and whose memory, the government, illustrious fabric, resting on this basis, will perpetuate while it lasts; and shaken by the violence of party, should it fall, which may Heaven avert, his prophetic declarations will be found inscribed on its ruins.

"The counsellor, who was at once the pride of the bar and the admiration of the court—whose apprehensions were quick as lightning, and whose development of truth was luminous as its path—whose argument no change of circumstances could embarrass—whose knowledge appeared intuitive; and who by a single glance, and with as much facility as the eye of the eagle passes over the landscape, surveyed the whole field of controversy—saw in what way truth might be most successfully defended, and how error must be approached. And who, without ever stopping, ever hesitating, by a rapid and manly march, led the listening judge and the fascinated juror, step by step, through a delightsome region, brightening as he advanced, till his argument rose to demonstration, and eloquence was rendered useless by conviction.

"Whose talents were employed on the side of righteousness—whose voice, whether in the council chamber, or at the bar of justice, was virtue's consolation—at whose approach oppressed humanity felt a secret rapture, and the heart of injured innocence leapt for joy.

"Where Hamilton was—in whatever sphere he moved—the friendless had a friend, the fatherless a father, and the poor man, though unable to reward his kindness, found an advocate. It was when the rich oppressed the poor—when the powerful menaced the defenceless—when truth was disregarded, or the eternal principles of justice violated—it was on these occasions that he exerted all his strength—it was on these occasions that he sometimes soared so high and shone with a radiance so transcendent. I had almost said, so 'Heavenly, as filled those around him with awe, and gave to him the force and authority of a prophet.'

"The patriot, whose integrity baffled the scrutiny of inquisition—whose manly virtue never shaped itself to circumstances—who, always great, always himself, stood amidst the varying tides of party, firm, like the rock, which, far from land, lifts its majestic top above the waves, and remains unshaken by the storms which agitate the ocean.

"The friend, who knew no guile—whose bosom was transparent and deep; in the bottom of whose heart was rooted every tender and sympa-

thetic virtue—whose various worth opposing parties acknowledged while alive, and on whose tomb they unite, with equal sympathy and grief, to heap their honours.

“I know he had his failings. I see on the picture of his life, a picture rendered awful by greatness, and luminous by virtue, some dark shades. On these let the tear that pities human weakness fall; on these let the veil which covers human frailty rest. As a hero, as a statesman, as a patriot, he lived nobly; and would to God I could add, he nobly fell.

“Unwilling to admit his error in this respect, I go back to the period of discussion. I see him resisting the threatened interview. I imagine myself present in his chamber. Various reasons, for a time, seem to hold his determination in arrest. Various and moving objects pass before him, and speak a dissuasive language.

“His country, which may need his counsels to guide, and his arm to defend, utters her veto. The partner of his youth, already covered with weeds, and whose tears flow down into her bosom, intercedes! His babes, stretching out their little hands and pointing to a weeping mother, with lisping eloquence, but eloquence which reaches a parent’s heart, cry out, ‘Stay—stay—dear papa, and live for us!’ In the meantime the spectre of a fallen son, pale and ghastly, approaches, opens his bleeding bosom, and as the harbinger of death, points to the yawning tomb, and warns a hesitating father of the issue!

“He pauses. Reviews these sad objects, and reasons on the subject. I admire his magnanimity. I approve his reasoning, and I wait to hear him reject with indignation the murderous proposition, and to see him spurn from his presence the presumptuous bearer of it.

“But I wait in vain. It was a moment in which his great wisdom forsook him. A moment in which Hamilton was not himself.

“He yielded to the force of an imperious custom. And yielding, he sacrificed a life in which all had an interest—and he is lost—lost to his country—lost to his family—lost to us.

“For this act, because he disclaimed it, and was penitent, I forgive him. But there are those whom I can not forgive.

“I mean not his antagonist; over whose erring steps, if there be tears in Heaven, a pious mother looks down and weeps. If he be capable of feeling, he suffers already all that humanity can suffer. Suffers, and wherever he may fly, will suffer, with a poignant recollection of having taken the life of one who was too magnanimous in return to attempt his own. Had he have known this, it must have paralyzed his arm, while it pointed at so incorruptible a bosom, the instrument of death. Does he know this now? His heart, if it be not adamant, must soften—if it be not ice, it must melt. But on this article I forbear. Stained with blood as he is, if he be penitent, I forgive him—and if he be not, before these altars, where all of us appear as suppliants, I wish not to excite your vengeance, but rather, in behalf of an object rendered wretched and pitiable by crime, to wake your prayers.

"But I have said, and I repeat it, there are those whom I can not forgive.

"I can not forgive that minister at the altar who has hitherto forbore to remonstrate on this subject. I can not forgive that public prosecutor, who, intrusted with the duty of avenging his country's wrongs, has seen those wrongs, and taken no measures to avenge them. I can not forgive that Judge upon the bench, or that Governor in the chair of state, who has lightly passed over such offences. I can not forgive the public, in whose opinion the duellist finds a sanctuary. I can not forgive you, my brethren, who, till this late hour, have been silent, while successive murders were committed. No; I can not forgive you, that you have not, in common with the freemen of this State, raised your voice to the powers that be, and loudly and explicitly demanded an execution of your laws. Demanded this in a manner which, if it did not reach the ear of government, would at least have reached the Heavens, and plead your excuse before the God that filleth them—in whose presence, as I stand, I should not feel myself innocent of the blood that crieth against us, had I been silent. But I have not been silent. Many of you who hear me are my witnesses—the walls of yonder temple, where I have heretofore addressed you, are my witnesses, how freely I have animadverted on this subject, in the presence both of those who have violated the laws, and of those whose indispensable duty it is to see the laws executed on those who violate them.

"I enjoy another opportunity; and would to God, I might be permitted to approach for once the late scene of death. Would to God I could there assemble on the one side the disconsolate mother with her seven fatherless children, and on the other, those who administer the justice of my country. Could I do this, I would point them to these sad objects. I would entreat them, by the agonies of bereaved fondness, to listen to the widow's heartfelt groans; to mark the orphans' sighs and tears. And having done this, I would uncover the breathless corpse of Hamilton—I would lift from his gaping wound, his bloody mantle—I would hold it up to Heaven before them, and I would ask, in the name of God, I would ask, whether at the sight of it they felt no compunction?

"You will ask, perhaps, what can be done, to arrest the progress of a practice which has yet so many advocates? I answer, nothing—if it be the deliberate intention to do nothing. But if otherwise, much is within our power.

"Let, then, the Governor see that the laws are executed; let the council displace the man who offends against their majesty; let courts of justice frown from their bar, as unworthy to appear before them, the murderer and his accomplices; let the people declare him unworthy of their confidence who engages in such sanguinary contests; let this be done, and should life still be taken in single combat, then the Governor, the council, the court, the people, looking up to the Avenger of sin, may say, 'We are innocent—we are innocent.'

" Do you ask how proof can be obtained? How can it be avoided? The parties return, hold up before our eyes the instruments of death, publish to the world the circumstances of their interview, and even, with an air of insulting triumph, boast how coolly and deliberately they proceeded in violating one of the most sacred laws of earth and Heaven!

" Ah! ye tragic shores of Hoboken, crimsoned with the richest blood, I tremble at the crimes you record against us—the annual register of murders which you keep and send up to God! Place of inhuman cruelty, beyond the limits of reason, of duty, and of religion, where man assumes a more barbarous nature, and ceases to be man. What poignant, lingering sorrows do thy lawless combats occasion to surviving relatives!

" Ye who have hearts of pity—ye who have experienced the anguish of dissolving friendship—who have wept, and still weep, over the mouldering ruins of departed kindred, ye can enter into this reflection.

" O thou disconsolate widow! Robbed, so cruelly robbed, and in so short a time, both of a husband and a son, what must be the plentitude of thy sufferings! Could we approach thee, gladly would we drop the tear of sympathy, and pour into thy bleeding bosom the balm of consolation! But how could we comfort her whom God hath not comforted? To his throne, let us lift up our voice and weep. O God! if Thou art still the widow's husband, and the father of the fatherless—if in the fulness of Thy goodness there be yet mercies in store for miserable mortals, pity, O pity this afflicted mother, and grant that her hapless orphans may find a friend, a benefactor, a father, in Thee!

" On this article I have done; and may God add his blessing.

" But I have still a claim upon your patience. I can not here repress my feelings, and thus let pass the present opportunity.

" How are the mighty fallen! And, regardless as we are of vulgar deaths, shall not the fall of the mighty affect us?

" A short time since, and he who is the occasion of our sorrows was the ornament of his country. He stood on an eminence, and glory covered him. From that eminence he has fallen—suddenly, forever, fallen. His intercourse with the living world is now ended; and those who would hereafter find him, must seek him in the grave. There, cold and lifeless, is the heart which just now was the seat of friendship. There, dim and sightless is the eye, whose radiant and enlivening orb beamed with intelligence; and there, closed for ever, are those lips, on whose persuasive accents we have so often, and so lately, hung with transport!

" From the darkness which rests upon his tomb, there proceeds, methinks, a light in which it is clearly seen that those gaudy objects which men pursue are only phantoms. In this light how dimly shines the splendour of victory—how humble appears the majesty of grandeur! The bubble which seemed to have so much solidity, has burst; and we again see that all below the sun is vanity.

" True, the funeral eulogy has been pronounced; the sad and solemn procession has moved; the badge of mourning has already been decreed, and presently the sculptured marble will lift up its front, proud to per-

petuate the name of Hamilton, and rehearse to the passing traveller his virtues.

“Just tributes of respect! And to the living useful. But to him, mouldering in his narrow and humble habitation, what are they? How vain! how unavailing!

“Approach, and behold—while I lift from his sepulchre its covering! Ye admirers of his greatness; ye emulous of his talents and his fame, approach, and behold him now. How pale! How silent! No martial bands admire the adroitness of his movements. No fascinated throng weep—and melt—and tremble, at his eloquence! Amazing change! A shroud! a coffin! a narrow subterraneous cabin! This is all that now remains of Hamilton! And is this all that remains of him? During a life so transitory, what lasting monument, then, can our fondest hopes erect?

“My brethren, we stand on the borders of an awful gulf, which is swallowing up all things human. And is there, amidst this universal wreck, nothing stable, nothing abiding, nothing immortal, on which poor, frail, dying man, can fasten?

“Ask the hero, ask the statesman, whose wisdom you have been accustomed to revere, and he will tell you. He will tell you, did I say? He has already told you, from his death-bed, and his illuminated spirit still whispers from the Heavens, with well-known eloquence, the solemn admonition:

“‘Mortals! hastening to the tomb, and once the companions of my pilgrimage, take warning and avoid my errors. Cultivate the virtues I have recommended. Choose the Saviour I have chosen. Live disinterestedly. Live for immortality, and would you rescue anything from final dissolution, lay it up in God.’

“Thus speaks, methinks, our deceased benefactor, and thus he acted during his last sad hours. To the exclusion of every other concern, religion now claims all his thoughts.

“Jesus! Jesus! is now his only hope. The friends of Jesus are his friends—the ministers of the altar his companions. While these intercede, he listens in awful silence, or in profound submission whispers his assent.

“Sensible, deeply sensible, of his sins, he pleads no merit of his own. He repairs to the mercy seat, and there pours out his penitential sorrows—there he solicits pardon.

“Heaven, it should seem, heard and pitied the suppliant’s cries. Disburdened of his sorrows, and looking up to God, he exclaims, ‘Grace—rich grace.’ ‘I have,’ said he, clasping his dying hands, and with a faltering tongue, ‘I have a tender reliance on the mercy of God in Christ.’ In token of this reliance, and as an expression of his faith, he receives the holy sacrament; and having done this, his mind becomes tranquil and serene. Thus he remains, thoughtful indeed, but unruffled to the last, and meets death with an air of dignified composure, and with an eye directed to the Heavens.

“This last act, more than any other, sheds glory on his character. Every thing else death effaces. Religion alone abides with him on his

death-bed. He dies a Christian. This is all which can be enrolled of him among the archives of eternity. This is all that can make his name great in Heaven.

"Let not the sneering infidel persuade you that this last act of homage to the Saviour resulted from an enfeebled state of mental faculties, or from perturbation occasioned by the near approach of death. No; his opinions concerning the Divine Mission of Jesus Christ, and the validity of the Holy Scriptures had long been settled, and settled after laborious investigation and extensive and deep research. These opinions were not concealed. I knew them myself. Some of you who hear me knew them; and had his life been spared, it was his determination to have published them to the world, together with the facts and reasons on which they were founded.

"At a time when skepticism, shallow and superficial indeed, but depraved and malignant, is breathing forth its pestilential vapour, and polluting by its unhallowed touch every thing divine and sacred, it is consoling to a devout mind to reflect that the great, and the wise, and the good of all ages; those superior geniuses, whose splendid talents have elevated them almost above mortality, and placed them next in order to angelic natures—yes, it is consoling to a devout mind to reflect that while dwarfish infidelity lifts up its deformed head, and mocks, these illustrious personages, though living in different ages—inhabiting different countries—nurtured in different schools—destined to different pursuits—and differing on various subjects—should all, as if touched with an impulse from Heaven, agree to vindicate the sacredness of Revelation, and present with one accord their learning, their talents and their virtue, on the Gospel Altar, as an offering to Emanuel.

"This is not exaggeration. Who was it that, overleaping the narrow bounds which had hitherto been set to the human mind, ranged abroad through the immensity of space, discovered and illustrated those laws by which the Deity unites, binds and governs all things? Who was it, soaring into the sublime of astronomic science, numbered the stars of Heaven, measured their spheres, and called them by their names? It was Newton. But Newton was a Christian. Newton, great as he was, received instruction from the lips, and laid his honours at the feet of Jesus.

"Who was it that developed the hidden combination, the component parts of bodies? Who was it dissected the animal, examined the flower, penetrated the earth, and ranged the extent of organic nature? It was Boyle. But Boyle was a Christian.

"Who was it that lifted the veil which had for ages covered the intellectual world, analyzed the human mind, defined its powers and reduced its operations to certain and fixed laws? It was Locke. But Locke too was a Christian.

"What more shall I say? For time would fail me to speak of Hale, learned in the law; of Addison, admired in the schools; of Milton, celebrated among the poets; and of Washington, immortal in the field and the

cabinet. To this catalogue of professing Christians, from among, if I may speak so, a higher order of beings, may now be added the name of Alexander Hamilton. A name which raises in the mind the idea of whatever is great, whatever is splendid, whatever is illustrious in human nature; and which is now added to a catalogue which might be lengthened—and lengthened—and lengthened, with the names of illustrious characters, whose lives have blessed society, and whose works form a column high as Heaven—a column of learning, of wisdom, and of greatness, which will stand to future ages, an eternal monument of the transcendent talents of the advocates of Christianity, when every fugitive leaf, from the pen of the canting infidel witlings of the day, shall be swept by the tide of time from the annals of the world, and buried with the names of their authors in oblivion.

“To conclude. How are the mighty fallen? Fallen before the desolating hand of death. Alas! the ruins of the tomb. The ruins of the tomb are an emblem of the ruins of the world. When not an individual, but an universe, already marred by sin and hastening to dissolution, shall agonize and die! Directing your thoughts from the one, fix them for a moment on the other. Anticipate the concluding scene, the final catastrophe of nature; when the sign of the Son of Man shall be seen in Heaven; when the Son of Man himself shall appear in the glory of his Father, and send forth judgment unto victory. The fiery desolation envelops towns, palaces and fortresses; the Heavens pass away! The earth melts! and all those magnificent productions of art, which ages, heaped on ages, have reared up, are in one awful day reduced to ashes!

“Against the ruins of that day, as well as the ruins of the tomb which precede it, the gospel, in the cross of its great High Priest, offers you all a sanctuary; a sanctuary secure and abiding; a sanctuary which no lapse of time, nor change of circumstances, can destroy. No; neither life nor death. No; neither principalities nor powers.

“Everything else is fugitive, everything else is mutable; everything else will fail you. But this, the citadel of the Christian’s hopes, will never fail you. Its base is adamant. It is cemented with the richest blood. The ransomed of the Lord crowd its portals. Embosomed in the dust which it incloses, the bodies of the redeemed ‘rest in hope.’ On its top dwells the Church of the First Born, who in delightful response with the angels of light, chant redeeming love. Against this citadel the tempest beats, and around it the storm rages, and spends its force in vain. Immortal in its nature, and incapable of change, it stands, and stands firm, amidst the ruins of a mouldering world, and endures forever.

“Thither fly, ye prisoners of hope—that when earth, air, elements, shall have passed away, secure of existence and felicity, you may join with saints in glory, to perpetuate the song which lingered on the faltering tongue of Hamilton, ‘Grace—rich grace.’

“God grant us this honor. Then shall the measure of our joy be full, and to his name shall be the glory in Christ. Amen.”

[Note 10.]

THE DRUM BALLAD.

There has been much discussion as to the real song sung by Hamilton on this occasion. Most, if not all of his biographers state that he sang "The Drum," but they give neither tune nor text. George Alfred Townsend (Gath), in one of his romances, gives a version of "The Drum," and styles it "Hamilton's old revolutionary air." Having my doubts as to whether Hamilton could have sung this song on such an occasion, I began an investigation for the purpose of ascertaining the real facts of the case. I am assured, in a letter from Major-General Schuyler Hamilton, a grandson of Alexander Hamilton, that the true text of "The Drum," supposed to have been sung by Hamilton, is to be found in the works of Robert Burns, in his cantata, "The Jolly Beggars;" also that *the particular song* of the evening was not "The Drum" at all, but General Wolff's famous camp song, beginning with the words "How stands the glass around?"

I annex General Hamilton's letter, and also a copy of this song:

Hotel Savoy, Jan. 4, 1897.

My Dear Sir.— Your courteous note is just received. I have always been of the opinion, from what I have heard from my father and uncles, that the song sung by my grandfather at the dinner of the Cincinnati, where Colonel Burr was present, was General Wolff's famous camp song, which begins with the words "How stands the glass around?" I enclose you a copy of it. Colonel Burr was seated on the left of General Hamilton at this dinner. The single thing which aroused him was the song of Hamilton. He raised his head and placed himself in a posture of attention. My informants told me, and they had it from their fathers, who were present, it was the song, "How stands the glass around?"— as well it might, which aroused Burr's attention.

Mr. Edmund Lincoln Bayliss, a grandson of General Lincoln, of revolutionary fame, told me the song sung on that occasion was Wolff's song, and scouted the idea of General Hamilton singing, before the Cincinnati, "The Drum," which, he said, was a common tavern ballad.

"The Drum," to which I suppose you refer, was a favorite camp song in both the British and Continental armies. It appears as part of "The Jolly Beggars," in Robert Burns' works, and begins, "I am a son of Mars;" tune, "Soldiers' Joy." It is like many of the camp songs of that day— un-nice, and, with a duel before him in a few days, it is altogether out of keeping with my grandfather's character for him to have sung it, Colonel Burr being at his side.

Very truly yours,

SCHUYLER HAMILTON,

Major-General Volunteers, U. S. A.

James Edward Graybill, Esq., 229 Broadway, City.

HOW STANDS THE GLASS AROUND.

(TUNE—“THE MOTHER’S LAMENT.”)

How stands the glass around?
 For shame ye take no care, my boys;
 How stands the glass around?
 Let mirth and wine abound,
 The trumpets sound,
 The colours they are flying, boys;
 To fight, kill or wound,
 May we still be found;
 Content with our hard fare, my boys,
 On the cold ground.

Why, soldiers, why,
 Should we be melancholy, boys?
 Why, soldiers, why?
 Whose business 'tis to die.
 What sighing? Fie!
 Don't fear, drink on, be jolly, boys!
 'Tis he, you or I!
 Cold, hot, wet or dry,
 We're always bound to follow, boys,
 And scorn to fly.

'Tis but in vain—
 I mean not to upbraid you, boys—
 'Tis but in vain
 For soldiers to complain:
 Should next campaign
 Send us to Him who made us, boys,
 We're free from pain:
 But if we remain,
 A bottle and a kind landlady
 Cure all again.

—Anonymous

[Note 11.]

FUNERAL OBSEQUIES.

“On Saturday, July 14, 1804, the remains of Alexander Hamilton were committed to the grave, with every possible testimony of respect and sorrow.

“The military, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Morton, were drawn up in front of Mr. Church’s house, in Robinson street (now north-east corner of Church street and Park place). On the appearance of the

corpse it was received by the whole line with presented arms and saluted by the officers; melancholy music by a large and elegant band.

" At 12 o'clock the procession moved in the following order, around the City Hall park, through Beekman, Pearl and Whitehall streets, and up Broadway to the (Trinity) church. The artillery, Sixth Regiment of Militia, Society of the Cincinnati, clergy, corpse, pall-bearers and flanking companies; the General's horse, appropriately dressed; family and relatives; physicians; Gouverneur Morris, the funeral orator, in his carriage; the bar, in deep mourning; the Lieutenant-Governor of the State, in his carriage; corporation of the city of New York; resident agents of foreign powers; officers of our army and navy; military and naval officers of foreign powers; militia officers of the State; various officers of the respective banks; Chamber of Commerce and merchants; port wardens and masters of vessels in the harbor; president, professors and students of Columbia College, in mourning gowns; St. Andrew's Society; Mechanic Society; Marine Society; citizens generally.

" The pall-bearers were General Matthew Clarkson, Oliver Wolcott, Esq., Richard Harrison, Esq., Abijah Hammond, Esq., Josiah Ogden Hoffman, Esq., Richard Varick, Esq., William Bayard, Esq., and His Honor, Judge Lawrence. On the coffin was the General's hat and sword; his boots and spurs reversed across the horse. His grey horse, dressed in mourning, was led by two black servants, dressed in white, and white turbans trimmed with black. The streets were lined with people; doors and windows were filled, and even the house tops were covered with spectators, who came from all parts to behold the melancholy procession. When the military escort reached the (Trinity) church it formed a lane, through which the corpse was borne to the church, preceded by the clergy and followed by the Society of the Cincinnati, the relatives of deceased and different public bodies.

" On the stage, erected in the portico of Trinity Church, Mr. Gouverneur Morris, having four of General Hamilton's sons, the eldest about sixteen and the youngest about six years of age, with him, rose and delivered to the immense concourse in front an extempore oration, after which the corpse was carried to the grave, where the usual funeral service was performed by the Rev. Bishop Moore. The troops formed a hollow square and terminated the solemnities with three volleys over the grave.

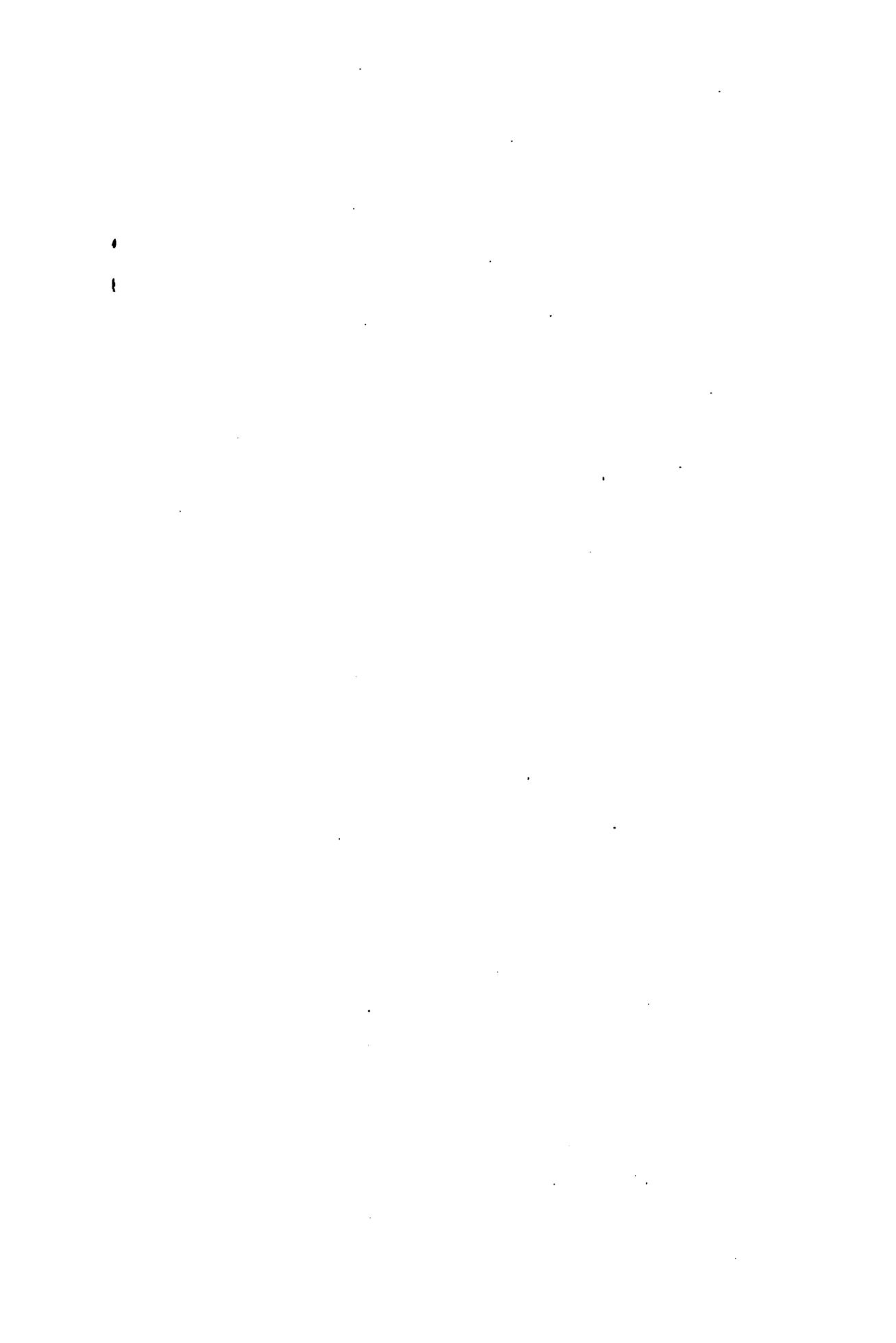
" During the procession there was a regular discharge of minute guns from the battery. The different merchant vessels in the harbour wore their colours half mast both this and the preceding day. His Britannic Majesty's ship-of-war Boston, Captain Douglass, at anchor within the Hook, appeared in mourning the whole morning, and at 10 o'clock she commenced firing minute guns, which were continued forty-eight minutes.

lajesty's packet, Lord Charles Spencer, Captain Cotesworth, also was
burning, and fired an equal number of guns. The French frigates
le and Didon, were also put into full mourning, both this and the
ing day, with yards peeked; they also fired minute guns during the
ssion.

hese marks of attention will be gratefully received by our fellow-
ns, as evidence how highly the deceased was respected and esteemed
e French and English officers."—Coleman's Collection, pp. 39-46.









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